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Emperor Paul I. ...	20		
Major-General A. Gerebsov ...	20		
Prince M. Koutousov ...	20		
General P. Goleuichev-Kutusov ...	21		
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Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,
BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,
No. 2076.

VOLUME XXXVIII.

FRIDAY, 2nd JANUARY, 1925.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., I.P.M.; John Stokes, J.G.D., S.W.; W. W. Covey-Crump, J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; H. Poole, J.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., G. W. South, R. J. Sadleir, J. Chas. McCullagh, P.G.W., Wicklow, F. Lacey, R. H. S. Roberts, G. B. Joyner, C. A. Birts, W. F. Swan, Ed. M. Phillips, W. J. Williams, G. Trevelyan Lee, J. G. Rowntree, J. W. V. Mason, F. Houghton, Gilbert Foyle, P. H. Horley, E. B. Young, B. Ivanoff, W. T. J. Gun, Harry Bladon, P.G.St.B., G. Derrick, Chas. J. Laker, C. Lobanov-Rostovsky, A. R. Dupuis Brown, Geo. Young, A. L. Collins, F. J. Asbury, W. Brinkworth, W. A. Foyle, A. H. Marchant, H. A. Matheson, L. F. Dunnett, P.A.G.St.B., S. W. Rodgers, W. Stubbings and John J. Galwey.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. C. A. Cornwell, P.M., St. Kilda Lodge No. 303 (Vic.C.); Jas. J. Nolan, P.Dis.G.W., Burma; B. Claxton, Boro' Bethnal Green Lodge No. 2896; C. E. Evans, Upton Lodge No. 1227; J. W. Thompson, St. Ambrose Lodge No. 1891; Aug. Baumann, Nordstjernen Lodge; V. J. Reveley, P.G.St.B.; and W. G. Jones, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Ed. Conder, I.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, A.G.S.B., P.M.; and W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.

One Lodge of Instruction and Thirty-one Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 2nd January, 1925.

Present:—Bro. J. Heron Lepper, in the Chair, with Bros. H. Poole, W. W. Covey-Crump, Gordon P. G. Hills, Lionel Vibert, W. Wonnacott, Sir Alfred Robbins, W. J. Songhurst, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1924.

BRETHREN,

On the 30th November, 1923, our Correspondence Circle showed a total of 3,067, and 214 names were subsequently added. Against this we have lost 50 members by death, 87 by resignation, while 67 were removed for non-payment of subscriptions. The number carried forward is 3,077, an increase of 10. These figures show that our membership stands to-day practically as it did twenty years ago, and in view of the present heavy cost of printing and postage it is evident that a serious attempt must be made to increase our numbers, which it is hoped may be maintained at not less than 3,500. We look to the present members of the Correspondence Circle to assist us in this matter. Forms for nomination of new members can be obtained from the Secretary.

The accounts now presented show that subscriptions totalling £460 8s. 8d. are still owing. The amount of £1,000 was reserved for printing volume xxxvi., which it is hoped will be issued during the current year, and a similar amount has been placed in reserve for printing volume xxxvii. It is not yet possible to say what part of these sums will eventually be available for reduction of the Profit and Loss Account.

We are pleased to report the receipt of a cash legacy through the generosity of the late Bro. Thomas Lowe Gray.

We have to express regret that Bro. F. G. Swinden has felt compelled to resign the position of Local Secretary for Warwickshire, and Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter that for East Lancashire. Bro. Bertram Silverston and Bro. R. E. Labrow have kindly undertaken the duties in these districts. Bro. T. L. Pryce, who has done excellent work for the Lodge in Johannesburg since 1896, died on 16th August to our deep regret. We have been pleased to appoint Bro. G. J. Clarke to take over the duties in Zastron, O.F.S., and desire to thank all those Local Secretaries who continue to do so much good work in their respective districts.

For the Committee,

J. HERON LEPPER,

in the Chair.

BALANCE SHEET, 30th NOVEMBER, 1924.

Liabilities.			Assets.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Life Members' Fund (368 Members) ...	2400	13 6	By Cash at Bank ...	436	10 10
„ Subscriptions, etc., received in advance ...	177	17 0	„ Investment, £1,300 Consols at 58 per cent. ...	754	0 0
„ Correspondence Circle, 1923 Balance in hand ...	957	17 11	„ Sundry Debtors for Publications ...	52	0 0
„ do. 1924 ...	1000	0 0	„ Sundry Publications ...	421	14 11
„ Sundry Creditors ...	77	4 6	„ Sundry Debtors for Subscriptions in arrear: 1924 Correspondence Circle ...	320	7 8
„ Profit and Loss Suspense Account, being outstanding Subscriptions as per contra, subject to realization ...	460	8 8	1923 ditto ...	124	12 8
„ Lodge Account— £ s. d. Balance 30th Nov., 1923 ...	47	16 1	1922 ditto ...	14	17 4
Receipts ...	28	1 0	1921 ditto ...	0	11 0
	75	17 1		460	8 8
Less Payments ...	36	6 3	„ Repairs Suspense Account ...	23	14 4
		39 10 10	„ Profit and Loss Account...	2957	3 8
	£5113	12 5		£5113	12 5

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for the year ending 30th November, 1924.

Dr.			Cr.			
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.	£ s. d.
To Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes ...	671	14 5	By Correspondence Circle Joining Fees, 1924 ...	113	18 6	
„ Lighting and Firing ...	26	11 2	„ 1924 Subscriptions ...	117	9 5	
„ Stationery and Printing ...	61	2 0	„ 1923 ditto ...	203	17 11	
„ Postages ...	220	19 10	„ 1922 ditto ...	81	11 10	
„ Office Cleaning ...	39	13 8	„ 1921 ditto ...	7	4 0	
„ Insurance ...	13	16 6	„ 1920 ditto ...	2	12 6	
„ Telephone, etc. ...	12	12 6				523 14 2
„ Carriage and Sundries ...	11	17 9	„ Back Transactions ...	47	4 0	
„ Local Secretaries' Expenses ...	2	15 5	„ Lodge Publications ...	34	14 9	
„ Library Account ...	24	18 5	„ Other Publications ...	25	11 8	
„ Furniture and Repairs ...	15	15 0	„ Interest on Consols ...	25	4 0	
			„ Discounts ...	26	8 5	
	£1101	16 8				51 12 5
To Balance from last Account ...	3098	16 0	„ Life Memberships Lapsed... ..	44	2 0	
„ Balance brought down ...	352	7 8	„ Appreciation on Investments ...	19	10 0	
	£3451	3 8	„ Balance carried forward...	352	7 8	
				£1101	16 8	
			By Legacy from the late Bro. T. L. Gray ...	494	0 0	
			„ Balance carried forward ...	2957	3 8	
				£3451	3 8	

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library, Museum, Furniture, or the Stock of Publications, and is subject to the realization of Assets.

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account with the Books and Vouchers of the Lodge, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith. I have ascertained that the holding of £1,300 2½ per cent. Consols is correctly inscribed in the Books at the Bank of England in the names of the Trustees, and have further verified the balance at the Westminster Bank, New Oxford Street.

ROBERT H. McLEOD,

Chartered Accountant,

14, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

30th December, 1924.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS

by Bro. W. WONNACOTT, to whom a hearty vote of thanks was accorded:—

1. ENGRAVED CERTIFICATE of K.T. Encampment, No. 1 City of London. Under the Constitution of Ireland. Granted to Sir R. Sheppard of Watling Street as a Knight Templar of St. John of Jerusalem, dated 3 November 1799. "Given under our Hands and Seal at our Encampment in "Assembly at the Black Dog St. James's Market, London."

Signed by Sir Joseph Lawrence, First Captain,
 Sir Tho^s. Farrall, Second Captain,
 Sir Tho^s. A. Allen, Scribe.

Sir Moses Lawrence was E.G.M. and his name is engraved at the foot; he did not sign. A black silk ribbon is threaded through the left-hand margin to form eleven steps; a black wax seal remains, but is indecipherable.

2. ENGRAVED CERTIFICATE of the Lodge Peter of Truth under the Grand Lodge Astrea (Russia) in Latin and German text, granted to Heinrich Theodore Mairin, apprentice, of St. Petersburg, dated 18.XI.5813.

The Grand Officers who signed this certificate are

Basilius Comte Mussin Puschkin Bruce
 Summus Præfectus.
Alexander Princeps Labanoff a Rostoff
 Sum^s. Praef. adjunctus.
Fridericus Theodorus Schubert, Sum^s. Inspector Imus.
Theodorus Comes Tolstoy, Sum^s. Inspector H^{aus}.
Augustus a Lerche, Sum^s. Secretarius.

The officials of the Lodge who signed were:—

Georg v. Ellisen, Meister v. Stuhle.
Carl Baron Ungern Sternbergsen, Zugeord. Meister.
Joh. Kayser v. Nilkheim 1^{er}. Aufseher.
Christian Friedrich Menche 2^r. Aufseher.
Wilhelm Küster Secretair.

In the year book of the Grand Lodge Astrea the above officials and members are thus described:—

Moussin-Pouschkin-Bruce, Privy Councillor & Chev. de pl. O:
Grand Master of the Grand Lodge Astrea and as such
President of the Grand Chapter General of Rites; Ex-Grand
Master of the old Grand Directorial Lodge of Vladimir at
the Orient of St. Petersburg.

Prince Labanoff, Colonel, Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty the
Emperor, Chevalier. Grand Master Adjoint.

Schubert, Councillor of State, member of the Imperial Academy
of Sciences, Chev. de pl. O.

Count Tolstoy, Captain-Lieutenant of the fleet, member of the
Academy of Fine Arts, Master in the Chair of the Worshipful
Lodge of the Shield of the North at Warsaw.

de Lerche, Doctor of laws, Assessor of the College & Chevalier;
Secretary of the Committee of Censure of the Ministry of
Police.

Ellisen, Doctor of Medicine, Councillor of State & Chevalier.

Ungern-Sternberg L., Councillor of the College, Director of the
Bank, Chamberlain to the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-
Schwerin, & Chevalier.

de Nilkheim, Doctor of Medicine, Councillor of the Court.

Menche, Major General of Engineers, Chev. de pl. O.

This certificate has an engraving at the top, of the Seal of the Grand
Lodge; and at the foot an impressed paper seal of the Lodge Peter of
Truth.

3. MANUSCRIPT CERTIFICATE on vellum of the Lodge Amis Reunis at St. Peters-
burg, of which the following is a transcript:—

A. L. L. G. D. G. A. D. L'U. . .

La R. des Amis Réunis


Légalement constituée A L'O. De St. Petersbourg :


A Tous Les Orientés répandus sur les deux hémisphères |


Salut, Union et Force. |

Nous Soussignés Dignitaires Off. et Membres de la R. .
de St. Jean sous le Titre Distinctif | Des Amis Reunis, Declarons
et Certifions que le F. van Opstall Major à la suite de l'armée |
A été promu aux Trois Grades Symboliques de L'Art Royal,
Digne de cette faveur par sa bonne Conduite tant | en .
que parmi les profanes, il a su se concilier L'Estime et L'Amitié
de ses F. F. | Persuadés qu'il ne déviara Jamais des Sentiers
de la Vertu, Nous prions Tous les Macons, de lui faire bon |
Accueil et de l'admettre Fraternellement dans leurs Att. et de
lui prodiguer tous les Secours dont il pourra avoir besoin
Comme nous les pratiquons envers nos F. F. des Or. Etrangers
Lorsque L'Amitié les conduit dans | notre Temple. |

Delivré a Notre Or. Le 18. Jour du 10. Mois de l'An 5812
D. L. V. L. (18 decembre 1712 ¹ | Stile Vulgaire) Apres que
el F. van Opstall a apposé sa signature au ne Varietur |

(Signed) Venerable. Audé de Lion, par interim  |

1^{er} Surveillant. Beguey  |

2^d Surveillant Charles Weyher  |

Par Maudement de

la R. . |

Dalmas, Secrétaire



Narrow blue and white ribbons are threaded through in the centre.
The seal is missing.

The owner has not signed in the margin.

¹ 1712—an error for 1812, cf., 5812.

SOME ASPECTS OF RUSSIAN FREEMASONRY DURING THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER I.

BY BRO. BORIS TELEPNEFF.



THE history of Russian Freemasonry during the reign of the Emperor Alexander the First,¹ is somewhat obscure.² A great number of documents dispersed among public museums and private collections still await impartial investigation. How many of such treasures have perished since the 'Bolshevist revolution' it is impossible to say, but sufficient research has been made in Russia in late years to enable us to take a fairly comprehensive glance at some of the aspects of Russian Freemasonry in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The state of Russian Masonic Lodges in those days commands our interest not only from a purely historical or local point of view; the enquiry presents some suggestive aspects of a more general nature—in fact, it seems to give a warning to Masons in other countries to avoid the pitfalls and dangerous routes which may turn Masonry from the Royal road of benevolence, self-knowledge and self-improvement, leading to brotherly love, relief and truth.

During the reign of Catharine II.³ Russian Freemasonry attained an unexampled brilliance and exercised a high degree of beneficial influence, not only on its members but also on many prominent circles of Russian society and even in some respects on the general populace of the country.⁴ Masonic leaders of Catharine's time were men prominent in every respect, energetic, sincere, talented and united in one great desire of perfecting themselves and spreading around them the light of high morals, knowledge and charity. The work accomplished by them in the field of Russian literature was considerable, and its traces are felt even in the present day.⁵ The unfortunate association of Russian Masons with the Grand Duke Paul,⁶ Catharine's political rival and personal enemy,⁷ in addition to a general suspicion fostered against all secret societies by the events of the French revolution, caused the Empress to regard with disfavour the growing strength of Masonry,⁸ although no definite command of prohibition ensued. What actually happened is thus described: "Catharine considered it necessary to make clearer her disapproval to those of her statesmen

¹ Born 23rd December, 1777; died under somewhat mysterious circumstances on a journey to Taganrog on 1st December, 1825. He had succeeded Paul I., who was assassinated in 1801.

² Puipin, A. N. *Social movement in Russia under Alex. I.*, St. Petersburg, 1900, p. 296.

³ Born in Stettin 2nd May, 1729; died in St. Petersburg on 6th November, 1796. Catharine's husband, Peter III., a well-wisher of Masonry (*Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, Leipzig, 1865, II., 103) was enthroned by her friends in 1762, and she was proclaimed 'Empress of all the Russias.'

⁴ See the author's essay, *Freemasonry in Russia*; also Eshevsky's Works, Moscow, 1870, III., 472.

⁵ *Handbuch*, 1867. III., 110.

⁶ Later the Emperor Paul I.

⁷ Puipin, A. N. *Russian Masonry in the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century*. Petrograd, 1916, 322.

⁸ *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, Leipzig, 1867, III., 111.

whom she knew to belong to the Society; and they advised brethren to suspend their work for the time being in order to avoid any misunderstandings. This advice was generally followed, at least in the capital, but with the hope that the measures were only temporary . . . How little there was of the thought of an open prohibition or of an official dissolution could be seen at the decease of General Yelaguin, Provincial Grand Master of the Society, when a general invitation was addressed to Masons as such to assemble for his solemn burial."¹

Thus, although regarded with disfavour by Catharine, Russian Freemasonry continued. It received some impetus at the beginning of the reign of Paul I.,² who is said to have been initiated into its mysteries,³ but this Emperor's protection soon turned towards the rival organisation of the Knights of Malta, and Masonry again languished.⁴

Notwithstanding this neglect several zealous and faithful brethren continued to hold secret meetings, and Masonic papers, rituals and jewels were preserved by them intact. For example, members of the Lodge "Pelican of Charity"⁵ kept inviolate the doctrines and customs of the Swedish System which had been introduced into Russia in Catharine's time.⁶ The traditions of the Rosy Cross Order, which had played such a prominent part in Russian Freemasonry of the eighteenth century,⁷ were reverently carried on by two sincere and diligent adherents of this system—O. A. Posdeef⁸ and A. F. Labsin⁹; and at the end of Paul I.'s reign the latter formed a 'Rosicrucian Lodge,' which attained a considerable success and attracted many new members. Labsin's Lodge¹⁰ recognised him as its only authority and worked with great zeal and secrecy.

The advent to the throne of the liberal minded Alexander I. must have given new hopes to Russian Masons of whatever creed or denomination. Yet at first the movement was confined to isolated cases and conducted with great secrecy. Hence, the information concerning those Lodges which began their work at that period, are scarce and somewhat confused.¹¹ In January, 1801, a general prohibition of all secret societies was decreed by Alexander's Government.¹²

In 1803 the Emperor seems radically to have changed his attitude towards Masonry. Masonic traditions in Russia affirm that not only did Alexander annul the prohibition of Masonic Lodges but himself became an initiate of their

¹ *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 111.

² Born 1st October, 1754, became Emperor 9th November, 1796, and was assassinated on the 11/12th March, 1801.

³ *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 111.

⁴ *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 111-112. Puipin, *Social movement*, 1900, 297.

⁵ Founded in Petersburg in 1773. It first worked according to the English system, subsequently joined Zinnendorf's and then the Swedish system. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, 1916.

⁶ *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 109.

⁷ *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 614 (Rosicrucians in Russia were commonly known under the name of 'Martinists,' derived from Louis Claude de St. Martin, whose books they held in great respect).

⁸ Ossip Alexeevich Posdeef, first Master of the Lodge Orpheus (in Riazan), founded in 1785 (Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, 1916). In 1789 he was Director of Ceremonies of 'the theoretical degree' in Moscow (an intermediary degree between Freemasonry and actual Rosicrucian degrees) and member of the Provincial Chapter, at the same time he became 'Grand Master of the Scottish Lodge.' In 1791-92 he apparently was 'Grand Warden of theoretical brethren' in Vologda. In the nineteenth century Posdeef lived in Vologda and was in correspondence with some of the best of new Masonic leaders. He died on 24th April, 1820 (Eshevsky, *Works*, III., 562-563, Moscow, 1870). Posdeef was a mystic and member of the Russian branch of the Rosy Cross Order (Longinov, *Novikov and Moscow Martinists*, Moscow, 1867, 177 and 232).

⁹ Alexander Fedorovich Labsin, pupil of the celebrated N. T. Novikov, Vice-President of the Imperial Academy of Arts, author and translator of a number of books on mysticism, editor of the "Sion's Messenger," born on the 28th April, 1766; died on the 26th January, 1825. Longinov, *Novikov and Moscow Martinists*, Moscow, 1867, 185. See also M. A. Dmitrieff's *A. F. Labsin*, Moscow.

¹⁰ "The Dying Sphinx." Its work began on the 15th January, 1800. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, 1916, p. 522.

¹¹ *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 462; *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 112.

¹² *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 112.

mysteries.¹ This event is related by Thory in these terms²:—"Mr. Boeber,³ Counsellor of State and director of the school of cadets in St. Petersburg, decided to destroy the prejudice which the Emperor Alexander I. preserved against Freemasonry. He obtained an audience and solicited a revocation of all orders directed by Paul I. and by Alexander against Freemasons. The Emperor asked him a number of questions concerning the aim of the institution and the doctrine of initiations. Mr. Boeber made the necessary explanation and depicted Freemasons as loyal subjects faithfully attached to their Sovereign and Realm and protected in most of European countries. Following Mr. Boeber's report, Alexander agreed to suppress all regulations directed against Freemasons, adding these remarkable words: 'What you tell me in regard to this institution engages me not only to grant it my protection but even to ask for myself to be admitted among Freemasons.' 'Sire,' said Mr. Boeber: 'I can only reply for myself to Your Majesty's demand; but I shall assemble the Masons in your capital, announce to them your intentions and I am convinced that they will hasten to conform with your wishes.' Soon after that the Emperor was initiated, and Russian Masonry attained its former splendour." This is Thory's account, and there seems to be positive evidence at a later period that Alexander *was* a Mason and even a secret member of the Grand Orient of Warsaw.⁴

Since the Emperor himself had joined the Craft, dormant Lodges were revived and new ones were established.⁵ Old Masons, still attached to the spirit of mysticism, which permeated Russian Masonry in Catharine's days, appear to have been particularly active during the first period of this Masonic restoration.⁶ Christian mysticism was in vogue in the Emperor's immediate surroundings and had a certain influence on the Petersburg fashionable society. That is perhaps why the Masonic revival took place mainly in Petersburg and not in Moscow, where it had previously reached the culmination of its glory and influence. Yet the leaders of old Moscow Masonry, such as N. I. Novikov,⁷ I. P. Turgenev,⁸ and I. V. Lopuhin,⁹ all adherents of Christian mysticism and 'Rosicrucian' doctrines, were still alive and through their pupils, A. F. Labsin, M. T. Nevzorov, Kovalkov¹⁰ and others were apparently exercising a considerable influence on the revived Lodges. But, as we shall presently see, these mystical tendencies which had once so beneficially united Russian Masonry were not predominant even in the first years of its revival.

In 1802 (10th June) A. A. Gerebzo opened in Petersburg a Lodge under the name of *Les Amis Reunis*.¹¹ Gerebzo was a distinguished courtier, and was many times entrusted with diplomatic missions abroad. He became a Mason in Paris; his Lodge worked according to a French ritual and was impregnated with contemporary French ideas. To abolish differences of religious, national and social character, thus "uniting the whole humanity with bonds of love and science," seems to have been the aim of its members. This Lodge was joined by many liberal minded and free thinking members of the Petersburg society. Among the 'United Friends' were the Grand Duke Konstantin,¹² Alexander,

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, 1900, p. 298; *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 462; Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry in its past and present*, Moscow, 1915, II., 167.

² Thory, *Acta. Lat.*, 1, 218; *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 112.

³ Johann V. Boeber (Ivan Vassilievich), born 22nd December, 1746; died 14th July, 1820. Corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and of many learned societies (Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry in its past and present*, II., 162). Was initiated in 1776. Secretary of the Grand Provincial Lodge of the Swedish system in Russia in 1779 (see T. Socolovskaia, *Russian Masonry*, p. 7).

⁴ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 238. See also *Russkaia Starina*, 1874, II., 467; Tira Sokolovskaia, *Russian Masonry*, p. 14.

⁵ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 298.

⁶ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 328.

⁷ Novikov (Nikolai Ivanovich), born 27th April, 1744; died 31st July, 1818.

⁸ Turgenev (Ivan Petrovich), born 21st June, 1752; died 28th February, 1807.

⁹ Lopuhin (Ivan Vladimirovich), born 24th February, 1756; died 22nd June, 1816.

¹⁰ Alexander Ivanovich Kovalkov, 1795-1854.

¹¹ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 522.

¹² Konstantin Pavlovich, Paul I.'s second son, born May 8th, 1779; died 27th June, 1831; said to have joined Masonry together with his brother Alex. I. (*Handbuch*, 1865, II., 147).

Duke of Wuertemberg,¹ Count Stanislas Kostka-Potocky,² Count Alexander Ostermann-Tolstoy,³ and several other brilliant members of Russian and Polish aristocracy.⁴ Besides the three symbolic degrees this Lodge seems to have conferred the higher grades of Master Elect, Scotch Master, Eastern Knight, and Rose-Croix.⁵ It worked in French.

Following the renewed activity of Petersburg mystics, the Rosicrucians of Moscow opened in 1803 a secret Lodge 'Neptune'; this Lodge appears to have been a kind of an 'inner order' whereof the outer circle was represented by a Lodge called 'Harpocrat.'⁶ P. I. Golenischev-Kutusov⁷ was the chief founder of 'Neptune' and its first master in the chair. He was curator of the Moscow University, member of the Senate, and a General of great personal courage. A Mason of the old school, he had been initiated in the former Lodge of 'Neptune' founded in Kronstadt in 1779. Members of his Lodge belonged to the Moscow nobility and also included some professors of the University and a few young officers, among them Count Alexander Ivanovich Dmitrieff-Mamonov. The tendencies of Kutusov's Lodge were quite opposite to those of Gerebsov's friends. In the outer circle they were carrying on traditions of their Masonic predecessors of the eighteenth century; charity, zealous Christianity, opposition to all irreligious free thought, and perfect loyalty to the established system of autocratic Government were the guiding principles of their work. In the inner circle they continued the mystical work of the 'Order of the Rosy Cross,'⁸ studying esoteric Christianity, and also alchemy, magic and similar subjects. Jacob Boehme, Basil Valentine and Paracelsus were among their 'Spiritual masters.' They seem to have held a belief in the origin of Free masonry from 'wise men in the East,' and recognised as chiefs the successors of those wise men, bearers of the highest Rosicrucian degrees. A strong discipline was maintained among the members, who were supposed to form one spiritual chain—in the words of one of their songs: "May our chain be strong for ever; the world may fall, and rivers become dry, but our chain is firm in heaven and visible for spiritual eyes, unbreakable and luminous and strong."⁹ The Lodge worked both in Russian and French.

Thus we see that Masonry was already at work in two opposite directions: a Conservative one, represented by the Petersburg and Moscow mystics, and a Liberal one following French fashions and ideals. But a third Masonic party was quietly growing, and soon, protected and probably used by the Government, it attained a dominating position. This was the Swedish System; its traditions and doctrines were zealously guarded in secret meetings of its adepts, especially, as it appears, by those brethren who were initiated in the Petersburg Lodge 'Pelican of Charity,' founded in 1773.¹⁰

The Swedish System, strictly Christian in its character,¹¹ was distinguished by a highly centralised direction of its Lodges, and especially by the great power invested in the head of the Order¹² (this head in Sweden being the King), thus excellently adapted to the ideas of an autocratic regime and a highly centralised Government. Autocracy and orthodoxy could hardly have a better instrument for the propagation of loyalty and faith, or for the suppression of their enemies. Therefore, it is not perhaps surprising that one of its chief

¹ General Governor of White Russia.

² Later Minister of Cults and Public Instruction in the Kingdom of Poland, born 1757, died September 14th, 1821.

³ 1770-1857. General of Infantry. Hero of Borodino's battle.

⁴ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 153-159, 161.

⁵ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 386.

⁶ *ib.*, p. 523.

⁷ Pavel Ivanovich Golenitshev-Kutusov (1767-1829).

⁸ Although there is no direct evidence that the actual organization of the Order of the Rosy Cross was re-established in Russia in the nineteenth century.

⁹ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 153-159.

¹⁰ *ib.*, II., 162.

¹¹ *Handbuch*, III., 216.

¹² Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 441-453.

adepts, Johan Boeber,¹ so successfully pleaded with the Emperor for the restoration of Masonry, and that the Emperor himself expressed his willingness to join the Order. Apart from an inborn interest in mysticism, there is reason to surmise that the Emperor was attracted to Masonry as to a suitable political weapon.² When in 1805 several 'old brethren' decided to restore the Order and on the 11th October founded according to the Swedish System a Lodge under the ancient name 'Pelican of Charity,'³ the Minister of Police, who was duly informed, did not put any obstacles in their way.⁴ This Lodge became known as 'Alexander of Charity of the Crowned Pelican,' and worked peacefully and unobtrusively, with a gradual increase in the number of its members.⁵

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the actual date of Boeber's joining this Lodge: it must have been either in 1808 or 1809.⁶ At this date the number of its members had become quite considerable; many new brethren were received, and many old Masons joined, among the latter, Doctor Ellisen, who was destined to play a particular role in Alexander's Masonry.⁷ In 1809 the Lodge possessed so many members that two Sister Lodges were formed from it, namely, 'Elizabeth of Virtue,'⁸ so called in honour of the Empress, and 'Peter of Truth.'^{9, 12} These three Lodges followed the Swedish System and formed in 1810 a General Directory or Grand Lodge under the name of 'The Grand Directorial Lodge of Prince Vladimir of the Order.'^{10, 12} It was opened on the authority of the constitutional warrant and rules obtained by Russian brethren from Sweden in 1780 for the establishment and Government of the Russian branch of Swedish Masonry.¹¹ Boeber was unanimously chosen its first Grand Master.¹²

'Elizabeth of Virtue' pursued mystical tendencies and was ruled by a Mason of old traditions, the actual State Counsellor Alexander Sergeevich Sergeev, who is said, like Boeber, to have influenced Alexander in his Masonic views. This Lodge worked in Russian, and its members were mostly Russians of good families.¹³

'Peter of Truth,' had a somewhat different character both in its tendencies and its membership, and here we probably see the germ of one of those diseases which gradually undermined the vitality of Masonry of Alexander's time, the reception of brethren of vastly divergent views, standing and culture. This Lodge worked in German, its members were chiefly German traders, and the above-mentioned Egor Egorovich Ellisen, a physician of some repute, was in the chair.¹⁴

Whereas Swedish Masonry thus increased in significance and acquired a certain organisation of its own, other branches of Russian Masonry did not remain inactive.

The French System acquired a number of new adepts. Gerebzo's Lodge already counted fifty members.¹⁵ The Lodge of Palestine was opened according to French rituals on the 4th March, 1809.¹⁶ In 1810 Count Michael Urievich

¹ Boeber, who had been Secretary of the Swedish Grand National Lodge (formed in Russia in 1779) appears to have preserved some of its papers and warrants. Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 162.

² *ib.*, II., 238.

³ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 523.

⁴ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 298.

⁵ *ib.*, p. 298.

⁶ *Handbuch*, 1867, III., 113.

⁷ *ib.*

⁸ Opened 1st of June, 1809. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 524.

⁹ Opened on the 12th of May, 1810. *ib.*, pp. 524-525.

¹⁰ *ib.*, p. 525.

¹¹ *ib.*, p. 398.

¹² *Russkaja Starina*, 1877. XVIII., 462. Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 298-299.

¹³ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 163, 164, 168.

¹⁴ *ib.*, II., 165.

¹⁵ *ib.*, II., 168-169.

¹⁶ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 524.

Vielgorsky¹ was installed in the chair. He was a zealous Mason whose life was devoted to charity and encouragement of art and science.² Under his leadership the Lodge of Palestine acquired many devoted adherents; it rapidly enlisted 75 members.³

The activities of Rosicrucians also developed. The Petersburg circle of mystics, led by A. F. Labsin, gradually increased in numbers. A special group of its select members was formed for the purpose of continuing the studies of "the theoretical degree of Solomon's Sciences," which was supposed to be an introduction into proper degrees of the Order of the Rosy Cross. Admission to this group was extremely difficult; only those brethren who had attained the degree of 'Scottish Master' and had given proofs "of God's fear, love to mankind, high morals and thirst for wisdom and knowledge," being accepted.⁴ A Scottish Lodge ('Bethlehem'), that is to say, a Lodge conferring the degree of Scottish Master, was established with Labsin in the chair, and in 1809 his Lodge of 'theoretical degree.'⁵ Labsin's circle continued to maintain the traditions of Russian Masonry and Rosicrucianism of the eighteenth century; the practice of Christian virtues and self-improvement; philanthropy, Christian mysticism, opposition to atheism, materialism and revolutionary tendencies. Under Labsin's and Nevzorov's leadership, literary activities were started; they both edited *Sion's Messenger* in 1806 and *Friend of Youth* in 1807, two journals which represented teachings of Christian mysticism and similar doctrines.⁶ In Moscow, Masons of identical views opened about 1809 a Lodge of 'the theoretical degree' ('The Scull'), which met in O. A. Posdeef's house and numbered twenty members.⁷ One of its prominent leaders was Professor Chebotarev,⁸ a friend of I. V. Lopuhin, the eighteenth century mystic and Rosicrucian leader in Russia; and another of its leaders was R. S. Stepanov,⁹ who was also a sincere and devoted Mason and mystic, well characterised by the inscription on his tomb: "He lived, yet dying daily, and he died so that he may live for ever; he was blind, but well knew how to discern the better world, and thus he suffered without murmur, and loved."¹⁰ Other important members of Posdeef's Lodge were F. P. Klucharev,¹¹ a Mason of old standing, member of Novikov's circle and of 'The Provincial Directory of Russian Masonry' in 1782¹²; the Princes Troubetzkoy, who figured so prominently in the history of Russian Masonry in the eighteenth century¹³; Admiral N. S. Mordinov.¹⁴ From this 'theoretical' Lodge there were apparently initiations into the inner circle of the studies confined to adherents of the Order of the Rosy Cross: theosophy, alchemy, magic, Christian mysticism and kindred subjects.¹⁵ It is interesting to note that members of Rosicrucian circles, while attracting Masons of old standing and repute and preserving the characteristics of the brilliant epoch of Russian eighteenth century Masonic and Rosicrucian movement, seem to have been very careful in their selection and admission of Candidates, and apparently did not mix or unite with Lodges of Masonic systems and ideas different from their own.

¹ 1787-1862.

² Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 168-169.

³ *ib.*

⁴ The Imperial Society of Lovers of Old Literature Q.D.L., XI., 6497.

⁵ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 524.

⁶ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 169-170.

⁷ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 523.

⁸ Hariton Andreevich Chebotarev, born 1746; died 26th June, 1815.

⁹ Ruf. Semenovich Stepanov (1745-1828), uncle of the well-known writer of his time, A. P. Stepanov (about whom see later), a man of religious and charitable disposition, bearing with firmness the ever-increasing calamity—a gradual loss of eyesight.

¹⁰ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 171.

¹¹ Fedor Petrovich Klucharev, Senator, Writer of Mystic poetry, born 1754; died 1st July, 1822.

¹² Ta. L. Barskov, *Correspondence of Moscow Masons of the 18th century*, Petrograd, 1915, p. 246.

¹³ *ib.*

¹⁴ 1754-1845. Afterwards Count Nikolay Semenovich Mordvinov. A prominent statesman in 1802.

¹⁵ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 171-173.

Their role was undoubtedly beneficial; their task above all was self-improvement; their aim was mystical 'rebirth.'¹

A peculiar mystical group vaguely connected with Masonry and Masonic Rosicrucianism was formed in Petersburg by Count Grabianka.² He arrived there in 1805, where he already possessed some influential friends. He soon founded a mystical circle where most peculiar practices were indulged in. His followers believed in the possibility of a direct intercourse with heavenly hosts, in prophecies, divine visions, etc. Practical magic was attempted by Grabianka's pupils, and 'the advent of the Holy Spirit' induced by convulsive movements. Some Russian Rosicrucians and Masons seem to have been enticed by Grabianka into his net, and that is why his sect has to be mentioned here. It was styled by most Rosicrucians and Masons, who, both in Petersburg and Moscow, kept aloof from Grabianka, as a circle of 'black magicians.' Grabianka's arrest put an end to the growth of this unhealthy movement.³

Quite opposite to these extremes of mysticism in Masonry were Fessler's followers⁴ referred to by Russian Rosicrucians as 'illuminati,' the 'hateful revolutionaries.'⁵ Fessler's Lodge seems to have been organised some time about 1809-1810 and called 'The Polar Star.'⁶ I. A. Fessler, about whose Masonic ideas we shall hear a great deal in the course of the further history of Alexander's Masonry, was in the chair of this Lodge, which met in Baron Rosenkamf's private apartments and included among its members M. M. Speransky, the famous Liberal statesman and a friend of the Emperor.⁷ Speransky seems to have been initiated at a secret Lodge meeting.⁸

The number of adepts of higher Masonic degrees also increased. The Lodge 'Sphinx,' working 'Scottish' degrees, was opened in Petersburg in 1810⁹ and the Chapter 'Phoenix,' for higher Swedish degrees, re-opened its doors.¹⁰

Thus towards 1810 the circle of Russian Masons was enlarged to a very considerable extent. This attracted the vigilant eye of the Government, which decided to get a closer knowledge of the purport of such a movement. The Ministry of Police directed to the leaders of Russian Masonry a demand to produce their constitutions and their rituals.¹¹ It is highly remarkable and suggestive of the intentions of the Russian Government that a Mason of high degrees, A. D. Balashov,¹² General Lieutenant aide-de-camp of the Emperor, member of the Lodge of 'The United Friends,' was then appointed Minister of Police.¹³ His appointment took place on the 28th March, 1810. In this way the Government obviously looked for means to supervise and perhaps to direct the Russian Masonry within its own Lodges and without its members violating oaths of secrecy by divulging to the Ministry of Police the work done during Masonic meetings. Already in August of the same year Balashov began his task by addressing to Masonic Lodges a significant letter, in the course of

¹ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 172.

² A Polish nobleman, agent of the mystical society which existed in Avignon under the name of "The new Israel" or "God's people."

³ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 172-173. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 368-373.

⁴ Ignaz Aurelius Fessler, born in Hungary in 1756, died 1839 in Petersburg. (*Handbuch*, 1863, I., 335.)

⁵ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 173.

⁶ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 524.

⁷ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 174.

⁸ This meeting was attended by Fessler, Hauenschild, Rosenkampf, Magnicki and Pesorovius. See Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 525.

⁹ *ib.*, p. 525.

¹⁰ Puipin, *Social movement*, 1920, p. 299. The chapter "Phoenix" was founded in 1778, and constituted the High Council of Swedish Masonry in Russia. See Sokolovskaia, *The Supreme Secret Masonic Government in Russia*, p. 5. The Chapter directed its activities against atheism and contained some brilliant Russian names, such as Count Apraxin, Prince Gagarin, Dolgoruky, Kurakin, Prince N. V. Repnin, Count A. S. Stroganov, A. I. Mussin-Pushkin, Shuvalovs. See *ib.*, p. 15. It became dormant in 1781. See *ib.*, p. 17.

¹¹ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 380-381.

¹² Alexander Dmitrievich Balashov (1770-1837). Minister of Police, 1810-1816, Governor-General of several provinces.

¹³ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 176-177.

which he said: "The chiefs of Masonic Societies here existant know that the Government although aware of their existance did not put any obstacles to their meetings. On the other side it must be in justice admitted that these Societies themselves did not give any pretext for any disapproval whatsoever. But through the imprudence of some of their members, rivalry between different Lodges and incessant initiations of new members, their existence became too much in evidence. From being a secret Society they nearly became an open one; in this way they gave a cause to the ignorant and malicious to form all sorts of misjudgments. In view of this position and in order to stop malicious discussions, the Government has considered it necessary to examine in more detail the rules of these Societies and to receive an acceptance of conditions on which they can be tolerated or protected."¹ Besides addressing this letter, Balashov summoned four Masters then in the chair of Petersburg Lodges and asked them in the Emperor's name if they would like to have the Masonic Brotherhood placed under the *protection* of the Government or would they be satisfied for Masonry to be only *tolerated*.² We do not know what exact conditions were attached to the promise of protection, but we can easily surmise that they were probably such as would have reduced Masonry to a sort of secret Government organ, vigilant in the interests of the police over its own members and other secret organisations of Masonic and kindred character; we shall meet this idea in some important documents concerning Russian Masonry in those days. We are told that in order to preserve at least some vestige of liberty, the four respective Masters decided to accept the alternative proposal and be content with 'toleration'.³ Yet, even these 'tolerated' Masters and their Lodges had to submit to the Ministry of Police for examination and approval all the papers demanded.⁴ And so the Government showed its hand and Alexander's secret strivings to use Masonry for perhaps very laudable but nevertheless political purposes—the support of the throne. It is curious to note that apparently Boeber was never asked for, and never presented, accounts of the higher degrees of the Swedish System.⁵ The next task of the Government was to peruse carefully the evidence and papers delivered into its hands. A committee was formed, of which another Mason, Speransky⁶ was a member, and further initiates into Masonry were forbidden till the deliberations of the committee were ended: though ordinary work of the Lodges was allowed to continue. Boeber was the first to receive the papers back with permission to resume the full work of the Lodges adhering to the Swedish System, but under the condition of reporting to the Government through the medium of the Ministry of Police, all their proceedings.⁷

Apparently, to this time, when the Masonic question was exercising the mind of the authorities, belongs a characteristic memorandum suggesting to the Government the possible usefulness of Freemasonry. The unknown author of this memorandum endeavoured to explain that a suitable organisation such as that of Masonry would be an obstacle to the formation of other secret societies; and that, whereas Masonry would stop any corruption of morals, other societies might disseminate evil principles pernicious to the welfare of the country. The memorandum suggested that Masonry should institute a secret supervision over Russian Society, but that this particular role of the Fraternity should be known only to the Ministry of Police and to the highest chiefs of the Order. To facilitate such aims, the memorandum suggested the establishment of one Mother-Lodge as the centre of Masonic Union under the power of which all Lodges of the Russian Empire should be placed; independent Lodges should not be allowed

¹ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 178.

² *ib.*, II., 178.

³ *ib.*, II., 178.

⁴ *ib.*, II., 178.

⁵ Neither did Labsin present his Masonic papers.

⁶ Michael Michaelovich Speransky, later Count, 1772-1839. It seems that Speransky's initiation was a step known to the Government and approved of, probably as a wise political measure. See Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 176.

⁷ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 381-382.

by the Government. It is important to remember that a similar document recommending that Masonry should be made "the foundation of the throne," had been presented to Paul I., the suggested head of Russian Freemasonry, but it was left to Alexander's Government to attempt the organisation of Russian Freemasonry on the lines suggested by the two documents.¹

Whereas Swedish Lodges, belonging to the System which could be so easily adapted to the aims of the Government, were permitted to work without further hindrance, the issue of such a permission to the French Lodges was considerably delayed. Both Gerebзов and Count Vielgorsky had to give assurances to the authorities that there was no harm in their respective Lodges, and that their work was nothing else but the simple execution of rituals,² and the practice of charity. As the Minister of Police, General Balashov, belonged to both French Lodges ('The United Friends' and 'Palestine'), this delay was probably due to the uncertain impression produced on his mind by their members and tendencies. The Free-thought spirit which penetrated into Russian Lodges, together with French rituals and ideals, must have aroused suspicions of the Government. This surmise is confirmed by a document found among the archives of the then Ministry of Police, in which document the Swedish System is most favourably commented upon, whereas the French System is described as the one which may become a "means of spreading harmful and dangerous influences."³ On the 8th October, 1811, the Lodge 'Palestine' addressed a petition to the authorities asking for the return of documents, and permission to resume initiations. After some further delay this was granted, but with the stern warning that Lodges may be closed without further ado in case of any misunderstanding arising after the grant of the permission.⁴ The result of the Governmental investigations of Masonic affairs was that only the Grand Directorial Lodge 'Vladimir of Order,' with its dependent Lodges, all following the Swedish System, was officially recognised as an organisation fully tolerated by the Emperor. All ruling masters were obliged to submit yearly for the perusal by the Ministry of Police, lists of members of their respective Lodges, with full particulars concerning each individual member; and nobody under twenty-five years of age was allowed to become a Mason. The place of each Masonic meeting had to be communicated to the Ministry of Police; meetings of Lodges not approved by the police were prohibited under severe penalties. The chief of the Directorial Lodge was responsible before the Emperor for the proper direction of the Masonic Union.⁵

The natural result of this Government interference and control, far from suppressing the movement, was to drive a number of Lodges into secrecy, some probably because they could not bear the idea of supervision or direction by a chief under the control of the Ministry of Police, others because they could not hope to obtain the police permission. The Rosicrucian Lodges of A. F. Labsin, T. A. Posdeef and P. I. Golenischev-Kutusov continued their work in concealment; so also did Lodges of opposite tendencies—those imbibed with advanced ideas of French Philosophy.⁶ The secret supreme Directory of the Swedish System, 'the Chapter Phoenix,' resumed its work in all previous splendour without having had any molestation or investigation from the authorities.⁷ Members of this Chapter, holders of the supreme authority of Swedish Masonry in Russia, were supposed to remain unknown to other brethren of the Union. From members of this Chapter was formed a High Council divided into two chambers—the superior and the inferior; the former being the ruling and the latter the executive body. Boeber was unanimously elected Chief of the Chapter with

¹ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., pp. 178-179. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 383.

² Which must have been known to the special committee.

³ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 386.

⁴ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., pp. 179-180.

⁵ *ib.*, II., 180-181.

⁶ *ib.*, II., 181.

⁷ See Tira Sokolovska's work, *The supreme secret Masonic Government in Russia*. (This book, although somewhat superficial, contains a great deal of valuable information.) Its other title is "The Chapter Phoenix."

the title of 'Wisest of the Wise,' or Solomon's Vicar. He became the Grand Prefect *ad vitam*, practically with autocratic powers—he was not responsible to his brethren for any of his actions, and could not be displaced. The Chapter was strictly Christian and national in its character, none but Russians being admitted as members.¹ Two Scottish Lodges—'Sphinx' and 'St. George'² also continued their work. Rose-Croix Chapters (quite distinct from the Rosicrucian Lodges or organisations³) working a degree similar to the present 18° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite, were established, and 'The Supreme Chapter of Mount Phavor' began its work in Petersburg.⁴ A French Lodge, 'de la Felicité,' was founded in Moscow in 1811.⁵ On the 16th May, 1812, the Lodge 'Jordan' was founded in the Crimea.⁶ In the same year the Military Lodge of 'Alexander of Military Loyalty' was formed in the guard of Cavalry.⁷

The influence of the Swedish System, officially recognised and represented by the Grand Directorial Lodge Vladimir, seemed gradually to increase. In 1811 or 1812 two French Lodges, 'The United Friends' and 'Palestine,' joined this Union.⁸ On the 11th April, 1812, a number of foreign residents in Moscow addressed to the Directorial Lodge a petition for the Warrant for the establishment of a Lodge named 'Pallada.'⁹

The Napoleonic war of 1812 led to the formation of many Camp Lodges, and the behaviour of Russian Masons during this war was exemplary; they exhibited the utmost bravery and ardent patriotism. The greatest hero of this war, the Russian Commander-in-Chief, Prince Michael Illarionovich Kutusov (1745-1813), was one of the leading Masons of his epoch, and many of the other high officers of the Russian Army¹⁰ were prominent in the Order. It is gratifying to note that their patriotism was coupled with the real brotherly love to other Masons, and there are instances related of brethren of different fighting camps being saved from death by being recognised as such by their adversaries.¹¹

In 1812 and 1813 the influences of Swedish Masonry had become predominant in Russia, and Boeber himself relates that in 1812, "with the exception of the Martinists,¹² who were working in secrecy but in the three first degrees also followed our (Swedish) instructions, in the whole of Russia there was only one branch of Freemasonry (the Swedish). Till the end of 1813 all the Lodges dependent on the Directorial Lodge¹³ were not only working in full union, but even had one common treasury, and one common meeting place.¹⁴ The Emperor viewed the movement with benevolence, and the number of new receptions increased.¹⁵

¹ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 181-182.

² The Scottish Lodge of St. George was founded in Petersburg about 1812. See Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 525. In 1814 a Scottish Lodge called Phoenix was opened in Moscow. *Ib.*, 526.

³ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 184.

⁴ *Ib.*, 182-184. The supreme Chapter of Mount Phavor was composed of "Chevaliers et princes Rose-Croix." Similar work was done in Petersburg by the Supreme Chapter of Jerusalem. See Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 397.

⁵ Or thereabouts. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 525. The well-known families of Vasilchikov and Rasumovsky are mentioned among its members.

⁶ Namely, in Theodocia; Worked in French and Russian. See Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 526.

⁷ It moved with the regiment. See Sokolovskaia, *Masonry*, II., 199-200.

⁸ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 522 and 524.

⁹ The war of 1812 prevented the establishment of this Lodge. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 525.

¹⁰ On the 4th May, 1814, a Parisian Lodge, "La Parfaite Réunion," gave a festival in honour of the restored King of France, and this festival was attended by both English and Russian Masons; probably, mostly officers. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 526. Masonry was popular among Russian military circles. Many Russian officers later belonged not only to Russian but also to Polish and Lithuanian Lodges. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, 529.

¹¹ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 192, 195, 197, 200. Sokolovskaia, *Russian Masonry*, 82.

¹² Rosicrucian Lodges.

¹³ Elizabeth, Alexander, Peter, The United Friends, and Palestine.

¹⁴ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 300.

¹⁵ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 190.

On the 21st October, 1813, the ancient Lodge 'Neptune of Hope'¹ was re-opened in Kronstadt,² in the same year the Reval Lodge 'Isis'³ began to work once again.⁴ Both Lodges joined the Union of the Grand Directorial Lodge Vladimir.⁵

At that time the Grand Directorial Lodge possessed, for the guidance of its members, a Book of Constitutions prepared at the beginning of 1812 and subsequently circulated among its members. The Constitutions were divided in nine parts. The object of the first part was to represent a "Freemason's duty towards God and religion." It said: "Your first duty belongs to God. Revere a being full of majesty, Who by a single action of will has created the universe, and preserves it by constant activity, overflowing even into your heart. Your weak and limited intellect can neither comprehend nor define Him. To please God should be your delight; to be united with Him for ever, your ardent desire and the measure of your actions. Confess everywhere the Divine Law of Jesus Christ and never be ashamed of belonging to Him. The gospel is the foundation of our duties; if you do not believe in it, you are not a Freemason." The second part of the Constitutions dealt with the immortality of the soul: "Man: King of the World: Thou, who in ages bygone was the most perfect of all created beings, God himself having animated thee with His breath, feel thy high destiny. Everything that exists around thee has only an animal life, disappears in due time, and is obedient to thy power; thy soul alone is immortal. Proceeding from God himself it survives corruption and disappears not." The third part referred to the duty towards the Sovereign and one's country: "The Supreme being has in the most absolute way, entrusted His power on earth to thy Sovereign. Therefore embrace the lawful Authority of that part of the earth where thou liveth. Thy first duty belongs to God, the next to thy country and Sovereign . . . If thy heart does not tremble with joy at the tender name of thy country and Sovereign, Freemasons will cast you out, as an adversary of the Grand Order, as one unworthy of participation in privileges of such a Society which has deserved the confidence and esteem of Sovereigns, the love towards one's country being one of its main springs. The bravest warrior, the most just judge, the most humane master, the most faithful servant, the most tender father, the most constant husband, the most loyal son must a Freemason be, all common and ordinary duties being sanctified and reaffirmed by the free and voluntary obligation of a Mason; if a Mason breaks those duties through the fault of weakness, he joins the vice of hypocrisy to perjury." The next three parts of the constitutions dealt with the love one owes to one's neighbour, and with the duty of charity; the seventh, with the duty of self-improvement; the eighth, with the duties towards brother-Masons; the ninth, with duties towards the Order as such. "In the numberless crowds of beings peopling this universe," proclaimed the Constitutions, "thou hast recognised Masons as thy brethren; never forget, then, that each Mason of whatever country, or standing, when stretching out to thee his hand, the symbol of brotherly equality, has sacred rights on thy help and friendship." The term for remaining in the apprentices' grade was fixed at five months; fellow craft, seven months; a Master Mason without further advancement, one year three months, unless otherwise determined by a special dispensation of the Grand Lodge.⁶ Such was the spirit of the Constitutions, for guidance of the Directorial Grand Lodge, and its dependent Lodges. The purely Christian and patriotic character cannot be sufficiently emphasized; as we have seen, in the Supreme Directory of Swedish Masonry in Russia, these features were still more pronounced; none but Christians of Russian nationality were admitted to high degrees, and at the head was a ruling Prefect, responsible not to his brethren, but to the Ministry of Police and the Emperor himself.

¹ Originally founded in 1779. See Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 511.

² *ib.*, p. 526.

³ Originally founded in 1773. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 504.

⁴ *Russkaja Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 462.

⁵ *Handbuch*, III., 113.

⁶ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, II., 184-187.

The Directorial Lodge consisted both of adepts of high grades and representatives of St. John's Lodges.¹ Hence the following scheme of this system of Masonry which was apparently predominant in Russia till 1814² under the direction of 'The Wisest of the Wise,' Grand Prefect, and Grand Master Boeber.³ The autocratic Emperor of Russia; his Ministry of Police; the autocratic ruler of Masonry, responsible to the Ministry of Police; his two councils of adepts of high degrees often unknown to ordinary brethren; the Grand Lodge dominated by the above ruler and his adepts; and subordinate Lodges. No other system of Masonry was tolerated officially by the Government.

Such a rigid system (obviously very convenient to the Ministry of Police) was bound to provoke a revolt among the liberal-minded Masons or the more independent spirits among them. Perhaps the system would have worked and been beneficial to the Russian Throne if due caution had been exercised in attaching new members only from truly Conservative Russian circles, but this does not seem to have been the case. Large numbers were freely admitted to the Order, which was rapidly becoming fashionable in the Petersburg Society, and the necessary discrimination in election of candidates was too often lacking.⁴ Gradually a considerable body of Masons of views largely differing from Boeber's supporters was being formed.

The opposition to the Swedish System started among the German element, which, at that time, became very prominent in Russian Lodges.⁵ We can easily imagine their dissatisfaction with the national character of the Supreme Council of the Order, and this may have formed a stimulus in the struggle the Brethren of German tendencies commenced against the predominating high degrees. But the main cause of the quarrel was a real divergency in Masonic views held by different brethren, and whereas the Swedish System was in appearance triumphant, another system introduced and supported chiefly by the German element was steadily making headway in Russian Lodges. This was the so-called Schroeder's System.⁶

With the advent to power in some of the Russian Lodges of this new movement began the second period of Alexander's Masonry. Besides the influence of Schroeder's followers, similar tendencies were propagated in Russian Lodges by Fessler and his Masonic circle. Both Schroeder and Fessler, although differing in some other points, were agreed in condemnation of a system under which higher degrees were over-ruling St. John's Lodges.⁷

Schroeder's System⁸ consisted of the three symbolic degrees only, all the higher degrees being rejected. For those who desired an opportunity of further investigation into the philosophy of Masonry, Schoeder established the so-called 'Select Historical Union'; this Union was composed of Master Masons, and its purpose was intended to be the study of the different systems and degrees of Freemasonry.⁹ Schroeder was an ardent propagator of the dignity of the Master Mason's degree as the perfection of Masonry and of a broadly democratic or 'Republican' form of Masonic organisation.¹⁰

Ignaz Aurelius Fessler was born at Czurendorf, in Hungary, in 1756. The beginning of his career was somewhat stormy. He was educated in a Jesuit School, and in 1773 joined the Capuchin Order. Monastic abuses soon

¹ *Handbuch*, III., 113.

² Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 300.

³ Grand Master of the Directorial Lodge since 1811-1814. See *Handbuch*, III., 113.

⁴ Tira Sokolovskaia, *Russian Masonry*, p. 166.

⁵ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 297.

⁶ *ib.*, pp. 297-300.

⁷ *ib.*, p. 328.

⁸ Friedrich Ludwig Schroeder, an actor and a dramatic and Masonic writer; born at Schwerin in 1744; died near Hamburg in 1816. See Albert G. Mackey, *An Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*, 1921, II., 670.

⁹ Schroeder's System is practised by the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. Mackey's *Encyclopædia*, II., 670.

¹⁰ *Handbuch*, III., 201.

disgusted him, so that he deemed it his duty to expose them to the Emperor Joseph II.¹; as a result, he incurred the persecutions of the Superiors of the Roman Church. A fanatical Monk, Sergius, tried to stab him, but Fessler luckily escaped the knife of Father Sergius, and was taken by the Emperor under his own protection. The Emperor appointed Fessler an ex-professor of Oriental languages in the University of Lemberg. His mind, tinged with mysticism in his early youth, now became sceptical, and he decided to leave the Capuchin Order. Fessler's changed views aroused against him such a storm of hatred from the Roman Clergy that he was obliged once again to run for his life, and arrived in Breslau in 1788. He was appointed the tutor of the son of Prince of Schoenaich-Carolath, and subsequently left Breslau for Wallisfurth. To this period of Fessler's life belongs the establishment of a secret Order called the 'Evergreen,' which had a certain similarity to Masonry in its organisation, and had as its purpose general moral reforms; it was dissolved in 1793. In 1791 he embraced the Lutheran faith; in 1792 he married, but his married life was as stormy as his public activities, and was dissolved in 1802. From Carolath he moved to Berlin, where he remained till 1806 as a Superintendent of Schools. As with religious beliefs so with his family life—Fessler seemed to be always in search of new vistas; he soon married again. The freedom of morals (from social traditions and prejudices) now apparently became the purpose of the once mystically inclined Capuchin Monk. In Berlin he took part in Masonic activities, but became rapidly disappointed in the behaviour of Masons whom he met, and nearly left the Order. But his undoubted, although somewhat erratic, zeal and sincerity procured him a place on the Supreme Masonic Council, and he began to work for the reformation of Masonry, trying to liberate Lodges from "deceptive high degrees, false secretiveness and superfluous mysteries." This work created again a number of enemies and bitter attacks. Still he strove to continue his task of Masonic reformer and writer. Fessler's pecuniary position was precarious, till in January, 1809, he was invited to Petersburg, by the Emperor's Liberal Counsellor, M. Speransky. Here he obtained the position of a professor of Hebrew, and later of Philosophy in the Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy. His Liberal views caused his removal from the Academy. He was appointed Superintendent of the Evangelical community in nine districts of Russia, and resided in Saratov. He came back to Petersburg in 1827, became Ecclesiastical Counsellor, and there died in 1839. Even from this short sketch we can easily imagine what a turbulent spirit Fessler brought into Russian Masonic circles; a Free-thinker, and ardent reformer, always followed by disagreements and strife, Fessler formed one of the causes of fermentation in Russian Lodges. Besides his Liberal views, so opposed to the strictly orthodox and Conservative rulers of Russian Masonry, his treatment of the high degrees so dear to the hearts of Swedish Masons was a cause of dissention. Although Fessler was not so radical as Schroeder, and although he acknowledged further degrees beyond the all-important three, yet he looked upon them merely as "steps of the higher knowledge," and did not consider these steps as giving to those who possessed them any special position in the Craft. This was enough to make his followers as objectionable to the Swedish adepts of high degrees as were Schroeder's disciples. On his arrival in Petersburg, Fessler formed a Masonic Circle into which he introduced his Liberal philosophic and religious ideas, as well as his Masonic views. Even after his departure from Petersburg his influence seemed to have continued for some considerable time among individual Masons.²

The disagreements among members of the Grand Lodge Vladimir began in 1814.³ The ruling Master of Lodge 'Peter of Truth,' Dr. E. E. Ellisen,⁴ entered into correspondence with Schroeder, adopted Schroeder's System, and,

¹ 1741-1790

² For the above and further particulars about Fessler, see *Handbuch*, pp. 329-339. Mackey's *Encyclopædia*, I., 262-264. Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry*, I., 108-109; II., 174-175. Puipin, *Social Movement*, pp. 303, 307, 308. *Russian Masonry*, p. 391.

³ *Russkaja Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 462.

⁴ 1756-1830.

in Boebers' words, "began to declaim against high degrees," those high degrees which Boeber and his followers considered to be of paramount importance in Masonry. Schroeder's and Fessler's pupils (Ellisen himself belonged to Fessler's circle) seemed to rally round the ruling Master of 'Peter of Truth.' Matters went so far that this Lodge separated itself from the Common Treasury of other Lodges of the Union, fixed a place for its meetings away from the usual rooms of the Union, and even revolted against the rules established by the Directorial Lodge. The immediate causes of this rupture were the increasing dissensions between the new Masonic elements, as represented by Schroeder's adherents, and the old Masons who believed in the Swedish System and the significance of high degrees.¹

The disagreements seemed to divide members of the Grand Lodge into two irreconcilable camps, which inveighed against each other with a considerable amount of warmth. Ellisen declared that all high degrees were an invention of the Jesuits, and that the adepts were their tools; he even threatened his adversaries with certain denunciations to the police—a good illustration of the 'brotherly love' which prevailed in the Union, and of the role the political department of the Government played in the Russian Masonry of those days.² Boeber decided to resign. A new ruler, Count P. A. Shuvalov,³ was thereupon elected; and, pending his arrival from the army, Boeber agreed to act as a substitute Grand Master; but dissensions reached, in the meantime, such a height that at the end of 1814 Boeber refused to carry on the duties of Grand Master. Count Schuvalov also declined the honourable post offered to him by the brethren, and another Grand Master, Count V. V. Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce,⁴ was subsequently elected.⁵

Count Mussin allowed great changes in the traditions and tendencies of the Directorial Grand Lodge; in fact, a complete tolerance of all Masonic Systems, accepted or recognised by other Grand Lodges or Grand Orients, was agreed to.⁶ Schroeder's System was then officially introduced by Ellisen into his Lodge, and Ellisen's example was followed by the Lodges 'Isis' in Reval, and 'Neptune' in Kronstadt. This strange forbearance towards every existing rite and a gradual secession of Lodges from the original Swedish System accentuated divisions between members of the Directorial Lodge, so much so that any further patched up reconciliation seemed at last impossible. Matters came to a crisis during the summer of 1815. The impossibility of reconciling the views of the holders of high degrees and those who were either representing St. John's Lodges or professing different beliefs, became evident during the discussion at the St. John's Day meeting, of a new Book of Constitutions for the Grand Lodge. As a result, the decision was arrived at and carried through to close the Directorial Lodge Vladimir, and to establish instead two Grand Lodges, equal in rights and independent from each other.⁷ All seven united Lodges expressed their wish to follow this course, and no objection was raised by the Ministry of Police, duly informed of these proceedings: Boeber narrates that he himself was the original proposer of this measure which abolished one central authority for Russian Freemasonry. Thus on the 30th August, 1815, four Lodges, namely, 'Peter of Truth,' 'Palestine,' 'Isis' and 'Neptune,' founded the "Grand Lodge Astrea."⁸ Three other Lodges, 'Elizabeth,' 'Alexander' and 'The United Friends,' formed the "Provincial Grand Lodge of the Swedish System."⁹

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 300, 306-307. *Russian Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 462, 463.

² Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 404-406.

³ Count Pavel Andreevich Shuvalov (1773-1823), aide de camp of the Emperor, a brave soldier and philanthropist. See T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phoenix*, 59.

⁴ Basil Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce, secret councillor and chamberlain of the Emperor.

⁵ *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 463. Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 302.

⁶ The actual date of this important event is somewhat uncertain, as well as the exact date of Boeber's resignation. See Puipin, *Social movement*, 302.

⁷ *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 463.

⁸ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 302.

⁹ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 408. On the 30th July, 1815, the Directorial Lodge established the Lodge of the Flaming Star. See *ib.*, p. 526.

Thus new Liberal and German tendencies, as expressed by Shroeder and Fessler, smashed the unity of Freemasonry in Russia, and even became for a time predominant.¹ Old Masons like Boeber felt very bitter against their antagonists, whom they considered to be a danger both to Masonry and to society. About Fessler, for instance, Boeber later expressed himself in these terms: "When there was a perfect accord among Lodges, Fessler wanted to produce disunion, and for money sold his wisdom to brethren of some influence who were attracted by him. But I was acting strongly against his strivings . . . He (Fessler) could be in truth reproached for holding false doctrines."²

The formation of the Grand Lodge Astrea ended the period of strife, but opened wide the door to new rites and consequently to candidates of greatly varied creeds both in questions of religion and politics. The reaction against former Conservatism was soon experienced, not only by moderately Liberal ideas, but also by Revolutionary tendencies penetrating into some of the Lodges. The third and last period of Alexander's Masonry began with the gradual penetration of political strivings into the usual Masonic activities.³ During this period a number of Lodges contained an incongruous and curious agglomeration of men of quite opposite types: there were the old Masons, mystics, loyal to the Government and the Orthodox Church, Conservative in their Masonic, social and political views; there were Liberals expecting social reforms and constitution from the Government and highly democratic in their Masonic and Social ideas; and there were even Revolutionaries, some of them with the extremist Radical views, many Republicans.⁴ In fairness even to the Russian Masonry of those days, we must add that the Revolutionary element found later an issue in the organisation of secret societies with purely political aims; evidently, no Russian Lodges would adapt themselves to such a dangerous work.⁵ The relations with French Lodges were naturally continued, with the Grand Orient and probably with other French Systems and rites, thus allowing for the steady flow of French ideas into Russian Lodges.⁶

The Constitutions of the new Grand Lodge had to be submitted to the Government for approval, which was granted. The main features of these Constitutions were: (1) Tolerance in respect of all recognised Masonic Systems; (2) perfect equality of representation in the Grand Lodge for all Lodges of the Union; (3) yearly election of Masonic dignatories; (4) non-interference of the Grand Lodge in the working of high degrees which might be retained by some Lodges of the Union; (5) only three symbolic degrees officially recognised by the Grand Lodge.⁷ These Constitutions were accepted by Astrea, headed by Count Basil Valentine Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce,⁸ who was unanimously elected first Grand Master. The confirmation of these rules by the representatives of the four Lodges of the Union took place on the 20th August, 1815. The Constitutions were printed in Russian, in French and in German,⁹ and were valid for six years, 1815-1821.

The relations of the new Grand Lodge and the Government were clearly defined by the Book of Constitutions. The Grand Master of Astrea¹⁰ was the person responsible before the Government, both for the Grand Lodge and all Lodges of its Union. As just mentioned, all Masonic Systems were tolerated, so that every individual Lodge was free to pursue its own particular inclinations in the matter of Masonic work, provided the Government did not disapprove of any system newly introduced into Russian Masonry. The Lodges of the Union undertook "not to have any secrets from the Government; the rules of the Union

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 303, 307.

² *Handbuch*, III., 614.

³ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 311.

⁴ *ib.*, p. 328.

⁵ *ib.*, p. 328.

⁶ *ib.*, p. 311.

⁷ *Handbuch*, III., 113. Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 311.

⁸ Vassily Valentinovich Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce, died 1836.

⁹ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 311-312.

¹⁰ The Grand Master of Astrea had to be elected for two years by majority of voices.

were always to be made known to the Government for its approval." The purpose of the Union was defined as "the improvement of the welfare of mankind through correction of morals, through the spreading of virtue, piety, and unshaken fidelity to one's Sovereign and Country, and through a strict adherence to the existing laws of the Realm."¹

After the publication of the Constitutions the Union of 'Astrea' began rapidly to gain in strength and numbers. On the 18th September, 1815, the Lodge of 'Michael the Elect' was founded in Petersburg²; in October of that year the ancient and influential Lodge of 'Alexander of the Crowned Pelican,' of which Boeber himself had been up to that time the Master, decided to join the Union of Astrea.³ During the next year further Lodges, new and old, entered the Union. Thus in 1817 Astrea already counted twelve Daughter Lodges in its Union. Besides the four mentioned there were 'Jordan,' in Theodocia; 'The United Friends' and 'The Flaming Star,' in Petersburg; the military Lodge 'St. George the Conqueror,'⁴ in Maubeuge, at the headquarters of the Russian Army of Occupation in France; 'Darkness Dissipated,' in Gitomir'; and 'Three Axes,'⁵ in Reval.⁶

On the 24th March, 1818, the Union of Astrea consisted of eighteen Lodges, the additions being 'Alexander of Triple Salvation,' in Moscow⁷; 'Three Crowned Swords,'⁸ in Mitava; 'Key of Virtue,'⁹ in Simbirsk; 'Russain Eagle,'¹⁰ in Petersburg; 'United Slavs,'¹¹ in Kief; and 'Love of Truth,'¹² in Poltava.¹³

In the list of Lodges for 1818-1819,¹⁴ the Union of Astrea counted twenty-three Lodges, the additions being the following Lodges:—'The Northern Friends,'¹⁵ and 'White Eagle,'¹⁶ in Petersburg; 'Golden Ring,'¹⁷ in Bialostok; 'The Bee,'¹⁸ in Jamburg; and 'The Eastern Luminary,'¹⁹ in Tomsk. On the 26th December, 1818, a new Lodge was established under the name of 'Osiris,' in Kameny-Podolsk.

In the list of Lodges for 1820-1821,²⁰ the same twenty-four Lodges are mentioned, but some of them had become dormant in the meantime. The Lodge 'Isis,' in Reval, was suspended by the order of the Grand Lodge; the military Lodge in Maubeuge, 'St. George the Conqueror,' was closed owing to the Russian troops leaving France, and the work of the Lodges 'Love of Truth' and 'The Northern Friends' was "adjourned *sine die*."

¹ Tira Sokolovskaia, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 58-67.

² Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 527.

³ *Handbuch*, III., 113.

⁴ Founded on the 12th March, 1817. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 528.

⁵ Founded on the 24th October, 1816; was considered by its members the continuation of the Old Lodge established under the same name in 1778. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 527.

⁶ Puipin, *Social Movement*, p. 312.

⁷ Founded on the 30th August, 1817. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 528.

⁸ First founded in 1775. Revived on the 29th January, 1816. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 527.

⁹ Founded on 12th March, 1818. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 529.

¹⁰ Founded on 12th March, 1818. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 530.

¹¹ Founded on 12th March, 1818. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 530.

¹² Founded on 30th April, Puipin, *ib.*, p. 530.

¹³ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 312.

¹⁴ "Tableau général de la Grande Loge Astrée à l'Or, de St. Petersburg et des 23 loges de sa dépendance. Pour l'an maçonnique 58 18/19." Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 313.

¹⁵ Founded on 18th March, 1817. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 528.

¹⁶ Founded on 24th June, 1818. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 530.

¹⁷ Revived on 27th July, 1818. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 530.

¹⁸ "Alexander of the Bee," founded on 27th July, 1818. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 530.

¹⁹ Founded on 30th August, 1818. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 530.

²⁰ Tableau général de la Grande Loge Astrée et des Loges de sa dépendance. Pour l'an maçonnique 58 20/21. *Handbuch* (III., 113-14) gives under 1819 the number of Astrean Lodges as twenty-four, namely, nine in Petersburg: (1) Peter to Truth (worked according to Schroeder's System, in German); (2) Alexander of the Crowned Pelican (Yelaguin's System, in German); (3) Palestine (rectified Scottish rite, in French); (4) Michael the Elect (Schroeder's, in Russian); (5) The Russian Eagle (Swedish, in Russian); (6) The White Eagle (rectified Scottish, in Polish); (7) "The

In 1821 a Lodge in Kishinev, under the name of 'Ovidy No. 25,' was established. No later official information concerning Astrean Lodges is available.¹

Little information can be obtained about the progress of the other Grand Lodge²—the ancient Directorial, and then the Grand Provincial Lodge. Still we know that its history was not marked by the same good fortune as in the case of Astrea. We have seen how quickly the ancient and influential Lodge of 'Alexander of the Crowned Pelican' left the Directorial Lodge to join Astrea. This was not an isolated example.³ The democratic constitution and general tolerance of Astrea evidently attracted many members even of those Lodges which adhered to the Swedish Ritual. There is evidence that later in 1815 the following Lodges recognised the authority of the Directorial Lodge:—'Elizabeth of Virtue,' 'The United Friends,' 'The Flaming Star,' 'Three Virtues,'⁴ all in Petersburg; and 'The Three Crowned Swords,' in Mitava.⁵ Besides these St. John's Lodges two 'Scottish' Lodges⁶ belonged to the Swedish Union, 'Sphinx' and 'St. George.'⁷ The Union was apparently directed by the Chapter 'Phoenix,'⁸ the Grand Prefect of which was A. A. Gerebsov. The President of the High Council of the Swedish Order was Boeber.⁹ In 1817 the Chapter 'Phoenix' consisted of the following members¹⁰:—

Prefect—A. A. Gerebsov.¹¹

Guardian of the Crown—Fed. Fed. Gerland.

„ „ „ Holy Lamp—Count Dm. Alex. Zubov.

„ „ „ Sword—Paul Serg. Lanskoj.¹²

„ „ „ Square—Iv. Mich. Evreinov.

„ „ „ Sacred Banner—Paul Alex. Rgevsky.

„ „ „ Spurs—Outtecht.

First Guardian of the Temple—P. T. Levenhagen.

Second „ „ „ —Rom. S. Shulepnikov.

Chancellor—Count Grig. Iv. Chernyshov.¹³

Northern Friends" (Swedish, in French); (8) The Flaming Star (Swedish, in German); (9) The Three United Friends (Swedish, in French); two in Reval; (10) Isis (Schroeder's, in German); (11) The Three Axes (Swedish, in German); (12) in Kronstadt, Neptune of Hope (Schroeder's, in German); (13) in Theodoria, Jordan (Swedish, in French. To this Lodge the great poet Pushkin belonged. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 532, and *Social movement*, p. 332.) (14) In Gítomir, Darkness Dispersed (rectified Scottish, in Polish); (15) in Simbirsk, Key to Virtue (Swedish, in Russian); (16) in Poltava, Love of Truth (Schroeder's, in Russian); (17) in Mitava, The Three Swords (Swedish, in German); (18) in Jamburg, The Bee (Yelaguin's, in German); (19) in Bialostok, The Golden Ring (Fessler's, in Polish and German); (20) in Tomsk, Luminary of the East (Schroeder's, in Russian); (21) in Kamenez, Osiris (rectified Scottish, in Polish); (22) in Kiev, The United Slavs (rectified Scottish, in Russian); (23) in Moscow, Alexander of the Triple Salvation (rectified Scottish, in German); (24) in the Army, George the Conqueror (Schroeder's, in Russian).

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 313.

² The establishment of the Grand Provincial Lodge instead of the Directorial Lodge Vladimir is dated by Puipin on the 19th September, 1816 (*Russian Masonry*, p. 527).

³ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 314.

⁴ Founded on the 26th November, 1815, by Rgevsky, Paul Lanskoj, Paul Lopuhin, Serge Volkonsky and others. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, 527.

⁵ The position of this particular Lodge is, however, not quite clear. See *Handbuch*, III., 615, and Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 313.

⁶ These two Lodges were ruled by the "Scottish Directory." See T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phoenix*, p. 54.

⁷ The Scottish Lodge "Alexander of the Golden Lion" is mentioned as adhering to the Union in 1817. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 528.

⁸ *ib.*, p. 439.

⁹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 313.

¹⁰ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 422.

¹¹ Alexander Alexandrovich Gerebsov, General-Major.

¹² Pavel Sergeevich Lanskoj, Senator, died 1831.

¹³ Count Gregory Ivanovich Chernyshov, died 1830.

There were besides these members two Directors of Ceremonies, two Heralds, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The Deputy Prefect was Count Vielgorsky,¹ and his substitute Commander Serge Lanskoï.²

At the end of 1817 the Union of the Grand Provincial Lodge officially counted six St. John's Lodges: 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' 'Three Virtues,' 'Three Luminaries,'³ 'The Valley of Oak of Fidelity,'⁴ 'The Northern Friends,' all in Petersburg; and 'Northern Star'⁵ in Vologda.⁶ Count Michael Vielgorsky, a prominent statesman, became in 1817 Grand Master of the Provincial Lodge in succession to A. A. Gerebzoï, who had been appointed after the division of the Directorial Lodge Vladimir into two Grand Lodges. Vielgorsky's deputy was Sergei Stepanovich Lanskoï, who later in the reign of Alexander II. became Minister of Interior affairs.⁷ Both Vielgorsky and Lanskoï were not only remarkable men of their epoch, but also Masons of high capacity and zeal; both these excellent leaders were accustomed to take the advice of one of the prominent Rosicrucians of the time—the aforesaid Posdeef.⁸ As we shall presently see, the previous Grand Master, A. A. Gerebzoï, and many other members were unfortunately far from being ideal brethren,⁹ which, perhaps, was the reason of Boeber himself leaving the Union in 1817.¹⁰

The well-known Russian author, A. P. Stepanov,¹¹ has left us an interesting and characteristic description of Gerebzoï's Lodge and Gerebzoï's followers.¹² These are embodied in two curious documents. The first reads, in the English translation, as follows:—

*Reception into a Masonic Lodge in 1815.*¹³

On the 14th June 1815, after dinner at 6 o'clock Divov, a courtier,¹⁴ drove me to a Lodge of Freemasons. I was shown into a chamber where I had to wait over one hour, until the conclusion of the ceremony of initiation of another profane, Prince G. M. Odoevsky. Then a man entered, attired in ordinary evening-dress. He bandaged my eyes and conducted me through a number of rooms; suddenly he stopped. I heard a great noise of bolts, creaking of gates, and we stepped over the threshold of a door. The conductor put me on a chair and said: "When I have left, take off the bandage, and give yourself up to the study of the book which lies open before you." The creak of a door and the noise of bolts informed me that he had left. I took off the bandage. Black walls of a gloomy cavern surrounded me; by the dim light of a lamp which hung over my head, my eyes met a skull¹⁵ and near it an open Bible on a blue cushion of velvet, trimmed with gold. Above me, the shimmering light also showed a skull with two crossed bones and the inscription: *Mementi mori*. I took the book of Faith and read silently . . .¹⁶ At these words the doors opened and a man holding a drawn sword appeared; round his neck was a broad blue ribbon from which a golden triangle was suspended; a similar triangle,

¹ 1788-1856. Count Michael Urievich was a sincere Mason, a great seeker for truth, renowned for his amiability and high intellect. T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phœnix*, p. 60.

² 1787-1862.

³ Founded in 1816. Ruling Master, Evreinov; his deputy, Dm. Zubov. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 527.

⁴ Founded in 1817. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 528.

⁵ Founded in 1817, but it seems that no work was ever done by this Lodge. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 313.

⁶ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 313.

⁷ *ib.*, p. 314.

⁸ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 368.

⁹ *Russkaia Starina*, 1870, I., 155.

¹⁰ T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phœnix*, p. 67.

¹¹ Alexander Petrovich Stepanov, 1731-1837.

¹² *Russkaia Starina*, 1870, I., 150-155.

¹³ These notes were found among A. P. Stepanov's papers after his death.

¹⁴ Divov's rank is given as that of a "kammer-junker."

¹⁵ The original says "Adam's head."

¹⁶ A few words are omitted in the original.

but much smaller, on a red ribbon trimmed with silver adorned the left side of his breast; he gravely asked me in French, "What is your intention in entering the Fraternity of Free-masons?" I replied, "To discover the secret path to the knowledge of truth." "What is truth?" "An attribute of that original cause which gives movement to the whole of the Universe." "As far as our powers and possibilities go, an understanding of such paths will be given to you; but now you must know that obedience, patience and reserve, are the chief objects first demanded from you by the Society which you have the intention to join. Do you feel yourself capable of investing yourself with these primeval virtues?" "I shall use all my strength to obtain these purposes; but know that it is not curiosity concerning exterior ceremonies of the Society which attracts me; I want to have the assurance of that which my soul longs for but cannot attain; I want means to be confirmed in virtue and to perfect such as I may already possess; I want to know if my soul is immortal?" "Can one doubt this? Nothing disappears in the universe." "But if it is a part of the ever existing soul of this world, how can a human soul, polluted by vices, unite with its purest sources?" "Seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened to you," replied the unknown orator; "but begin by being obedient." And, having called a serving brother, he commanded me to take off some of the things I had on: my jacket, waist-coat and my left boot; to tie up strongly with a kerchief my leg above the knee; to bandage my eyes, and having pulled down my shirt from my left shoulder, to open my breast, to which he applied the drawn sword; then he conducted me out of the gloomy refuge.

So attired, for quite a long time he made me go round and round in their chambers; at last he stopped and said, "Knock with this ring three times," putting my hand on a ring. In a minute or so a voice was heard behind the doors: "Who is disturbing the peace of brotherly converse?" My conductor replied: "A profane; he desires to become a member of the sacred Fraternity." "Perhaps a vain curiosity attracts him here?" "What is his name, rank, place of birth? How old is he?" . . . After several questions of a similar nature and respective answers, the doors were opened, and I was admitted.

Still having a tight bandage over my eyes, I heard from far off a grave soft voice asking me: "Do you, O profane, firmly desire to enter into the sacred Guild of Brotherhood?" I replied, "Yes." "Have you sufficient courage to pass through the trials now awaiting you?" "Yes." When all such questions were finished, the same voice called: "Brother Conductor of Ceremonies, begin the trials, accompany him on the path continuous and strenuous." After that the brother Conductor of Ceremonies, having applied the sword to my breast and taken me by the hand, began the execution of the command just given. He started together with me a journey from the East to the West, and conducted me slowly with small steps, talking in a loud and clear voice of life and death; then he stopped, patted me on the shoulder, and exclaimed: "Worshipful: the profane has passed the first trial; his firmness gives hope for his success during the next trials." This speech was repeated by two other voices, and the commanding voice said: "Begin the second journey" . . . When the second journey was finished, and the succeeding third journey, the brother Conductor of Ceremonies stopped me, patted me on the shoulder and made a report; this was repeated by two voices, and then a voice soft and compassionate spoke: "Most beloved brethren: the profane has terminated in a praiseworthy manner his trials; he is worthy to enter our Society. Will you agree to enter into communion with him?" (or something to this effect). A muffled sound of applause announced the general consent of brethren; I was then instructed to come nearer. I had to move straight before me, and my

steps were directed so that I should place my feet in a certain peculiar way; I ascended an elevation, knelt down on a cushion, and my hand was placed on the Bible and a sword. Somebody (the Grand Master) placed his hand on mine and instructed me to swear that I shall conceal the secret; then I was directed back to my former position. Somebody standing near by told me: "Put out your Tongue," and an iron instrument was applied to it. At the same time a voice was heard: "May the bandages fall from his eyes so that he may see the light illuminating." The bandage fell. A light flashed before my eyes; it suddenly disappeared, and I saw before me in an illuminated round hall about forty persons, surrounding me in a semi-circle with swords pointed at me. Behind them on an elevated throne under a green canopy covered with stars, the Grand Master stood. At a sign from him, all brethren took their seats. They all wore hats and had leather aprons on; but some of the latter were of plain white, some trimmed with rose and blue ribbons, according to their respective degrees or ranks. To show further the rank attained, they were adorned with different jewels, hanging from blue or gold ribbons trimmed with silver, either from their necks or buttonholes. The Grand Master had his hat on and jewels similar to other brethren, but was distinguished from them by the triangle and a square suspended from a blue ribbon. Before him stood a table covered right down to the floor. On this table were placed: three candle-sticks, each in a corner, a Bible, a sword, compasses, a square and a white gavel, all lying on cushions.

When all had occupied their respective seats, the Grand Master commanded to bring me to his throne. In the middle of the floor a representation of King Solomon's Temple was lying, which I had passed when blindfolded. Now I could see that my previous steps were so directed that I should walk over this representation gradually ascending the staircase leading to the sanctuary. Having ascended the steps, I was standing near the table or rather an altar; I knelt down. The Grand Master took the compasses, applied them to my naked breast and struck with his gavel three times. I saw that a cup moistened with blood was taken from under my breast. Each of these actions was accompanied by corresponding words. When this was ended, the Grand Master bade me be dressed; I was conducted into another room; when my proper dressing was restored, I re-entered the Lodge. After that the Worshipful commanded me and another initiate (accepted together with me) to approach the throne and began the following discourse:—

"Dear brethren: Everything you have felt and seen, is but symbolic of the secret essence: the bandage over your eyes, the dark temple, the mental contemplation, the knocks, the journey from the East to the West, your passing over the representation of King Solomon's Temple, all these are nothing but noteworthy features of that which can generate in your soul an idea of nothingness of the world, raising a desire to search for truth; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you. We are confident that your word of honor as to the concealment of our secrets would be sufficient but also knowing the weakness of the human heart, to be safe, we receive your oath on the Sacred Book of Law, in this manner inflaming all our hearts with ardour and binding us with you; the reason for asking this oath is that otherwise profanes who do not understand the aim of this brotherhood might mock it or use it for evil. Liberty and equality are supreme among us; under the name of Freemasons we together endeavour to reconstruct the building established on the Corner Stone, depicted in this Holy Book.¹ Therefore, dear brother, you are invested as a Mason with an apron, and receive this

¹ "Saying this the Worshipful Master points at the Bible."

gavel.¹ Also accept this small token, a sign of our brotherly union, and wear it on your breast every time when visiting our Society.² Receive these gloves in token of purity of your actions, receive these ladies' gloves for the companion of your life; the better sex does not belong to our Society but we do not break the Constitutions of the Creator and of Nature. A good wife is a comfort in the dreadful trials of this world; but let your chosen one be of pure and innocent actions.³ Now receive this sword which should serve to cut off our passions, and know that the Society of United Brethren, in which you enter, is nothing by itself if you yourself do not direct your will towards the quest of truth; it serves as an entrance to the path which the awakened conscience of a fallen soul thirsts to discover."

After this speech, the Grand Master bade the Director of Ceremonies to entrust us with the signs of Freemasons, and to give us a preliminary instruction in hieroglyphics.

As there are brethren of different degrees and we have received only the first one (that of the Apprentice), the particular sign of apprentices was shown to us which is . . .⁴

The author concludes:—

After we had learnt all these signs, our aprons were put on, gavels were hung to one of the buttons and triangles in our respective buttonholes, naked swords were put into our hands; we were bidden to cover ourselves, and shown our seats.

Judging by this description of an initiation into Gerebzo's Lodge, the spirit of Russian Masonry under this leader seems to have been beneficial and good; so it was, in appearance, but not in reality. The following letter,⁵ written by the author of this description to his uncle, the celebrated Moscow Rosicrucian, R. S. Stepanov,⁶ shows what the actual state of affairs was:—

Gracious Sir my Uncle: I entered at Gerebzo's those ties which have also engaged you, but this same entrance would have become the moment of my removal from them for ever, if I were not brought to Count Vielgorsky whom you know. Having found in Gerebzo's Lodge, people who were laughing at everything that surrounded them; people whose aims were not even bonds of friendship, people who were given up to riotousness in the hours of festival and yet were striving towards exterior superiority,—I could not discover amongst them any enlightenment, in fact I felt further removed from the object which I entertained when joining them; I followed their example and passed from one degree to another. I ridiculed together with them 'the game of grown up children,' so I designated the wise allegory till I became intimate with Count Vielgorsky. He did not advise me to leave Gerebzo's Lodge but in a friendly converse showed me a small light, slightly pointing at the analogy between the rituals of the exterior Lodge with those of the inner one.⁷ Then I applied myself again to my purpose, which was and is the desire to know myself, and, if there exists in me a higher nature besides exterior organs, which distinguishes me from beasts, if there is in me a being which can approach my Creator, then to know also the link

¹ "He gives to each of the initiates a leather apron and a small silver gavel."

² "He gives to each of the initiates an opened gold triangle on a scarlet ribbon lined with silver; on the sides of the triangle are the words, *Les amis réunis* [The United Friends, name of the Lodge], and in the middle two United hands."

³ "Both pairs of gloves handed to the initiates are of cambric."

⁴ Omission in the original.

⁵ *Russkaia Starina*, 1870, I., 155.

⁶ 1745-1828. Became leader of Moscow Masons after Posdeef's death, a living example of "the victory of the spirit over the flesh." T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phoenix*, p. 22. See also above.

⁷ Human soul?

between this high nature of mine and the lower one so that I could tread the path of self-improvement. That is why I entered the Society you know of, and that is what I have intended to do there. Your gracious thought of me and the benevolent wish to guide me make me now open my heart to you so that you could with greater convenience dispose of my work and instruct me how I should use the key which I have received without knowing the mode of applying it. With real respect . . .¹

We can easily understand, when perusing this letter, why a great many members of Gerebzo's Union left it and joined Astrea; among them were some of the best, those who were serious in their enquiry and who did not believe in Masonry as a pretext for riotous banquets and jokes. But Gerebzo did not only neglect the inner life of the Order; he even would not find time to regulate its exterior activities, so, for instance, he neglected those intimate relations with the Ministry of Police which alone seemed to assure the tolerance of the Government, and thus helped for a while the leaders of Astrea to gain the benevolence of the authorities.² At last, in 1818, he himself left the Swedish Union.³

In 1819 the Union of the Provincial Grand Lodge seems to have consisted only of six Lodges, namely: 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' 'Three Virtues,' and 'The Valley of Oak,' in Petersburg; 'Pont Evxin,'⁴ in Odessa; 'The Northern Star,' in Vologda, and 'Seekers for Manna,'⁵ in Moscow.⁶

Under the direction of such arduous and sincere Masons as Lanskoj and Vielgorsky, the Union acquired a greater influence. These two worthy brethren, influenced in their ideas and strivings by the remainder of the Rosicrucian circle in Russia, endeavoured by personal example, instruction, lectures and strict fulfilment of ritual to conjure back the fast departing spirit of Freemasonry. But they were too late, although a great success was vouchsafed to them, when in 1822 Astrea proposed to revert to the Ancient Swedish System in its Lodges instead of the general toleration of various systems⁷ and rites.

In 1822 the following Lodges were adhering to the Union of the Provincial Grand Lodge:—'St. John the Forerunner,' 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' 'The Valley of Oak,' 'Orpheus,'⁸ 'Three Virtues,' 'Three Luminaries,' in Petersburg; 'Seekers for Manna,' in Moscow; 'Pont Evxin,' in Odessa; two Lodges of 'St. John Chrisostom,' one in Petersburg⁹ and one in Moscow¹⁰; St. Andrew's or Scottish Lodges, 'Sphinx' and 'Alexander of the Golden Lion,' in Petersburg; and 'Three Kingdoms of Nature,'¹¹ in Odessa.¹²

The Swedish System as represented by this Union did not undergo many changes in its essence: its high degrees and their respective importance remained as before; the direction of the Union was centralised in the High Council and its executive in the Chapter of Phœnix. Some members of the High Council

¹ Here follows the signature.

² T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phœnix*, p. 60.

³ *ib.*, p. 76. Apparently his substitute, Count Vielgorsky, also did not give for some time the usual information to the police, but this may have been actuated by other reasons, perhaps by Vielgorsky's natural aversion to Masonry being supervised by the police, or perhaps because of his somewhat retiring disposition as regards official relations and representations. See Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 411-412, and also Vielgorsky's characteristics in Sokolovskaia's *The Chapter Phœnix*.

⁴ Founded in 1817. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 528.

⁵ Founded on the 24th November, 1817. Puipin, *ib.*, p. 528.

⁶ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 314. *Handbuch*, p. 113.

⁷ T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phœnix*, pp. 82 and 86.

⁸ Founded in December, 1818. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 531.

⁹ For the "theoretical brethren." Founded by S. S. Lanskoj on the 7th April, 1821.

¹⁰ N. A. Diakof's "theoretical" circle opened on the 12th April, 1819. See Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 531.

¹¹ 1818. See *ib.*, p. 531. Another Scottish Lodge, "Hermes," was opened in Moscow in 1821.

¹² T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phœnix*. Besides the enumerated Lodges there was, apparently, a Lodge in Nigni-Novgorod called "The Re-lighted Luminary of Three Columns." Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 531.

were unknown to ordinary brethren; Counts Vielgorsky, S. Lanskoj and N. M. Borosdin¹ seem to have been foremost in view among the supreme chiefs.²

The two Grand Lodges with their respective Daughter Lodges did not represent, however, all the Masonic gatherings which were taking place in Alexander's time. Among such gatherings were the above-mentioned Rosicrucian Lodges which worked in secrecy, avoiding the police supervision and politics, and admitting worthy candidates who dedicated themselves to real Masonic work and mystical research.³ In the worldly darkness they bore undimmed the torch lighted by Moscow Rosicrucians in the eighteenth century, and, as we have just seen, they exercised a considerable influence over some of the best Masons of those days.

On the 12th December, 1817, the two Grand Lodges, Astrea and the Provincial, represented by their respective Grand Masters, Grand Officers and other prominent members, concluded an agreement: "an act concerning mutual relations of two Grand Lodges in the East of St. Petersburg." In spite of misgivings professed by some influential members of the Grand Provincial Lodge,⁴ this act was duly signed. Besides the officers of two Grand Lodges, representatives of eight Lodges, belonging to the Astrean Union, and of six Lodges belonging to the Provincial Union, affixed their signatures.

According to this document, the two Grand Lodges mutually agreed not to recognise as regular any Lodges in the Russian territory which were not allowed by the Government, or such Lodges as were established during the existence of the Directorial Lodge Vladimir, and since its dissolution without the permission of one of the signatories to the pact; Lodges which might be established by foreign Masonic authorities would also not be recognised.⁵ Moreover, while mutually recognising all St. John's Lodges formed by either of the signatories, they agreed not to reckon as regular any Daughter Lodge which might be suspended by either of the two Mother Lodges. Every Daughter Lodge was free to transfer its allegiance from one Union to another, provided such a change was decided by the majority of its members, and a proper financial discharge was granted by the respective Grand Lodge. The signatories further undertook to inform each other of members excluded from their respective Unions, but always accompanying such information with reasons of exclusion; it then remained with the other Grand Lodge either to accept or to reject such members, except in cases of such transgressions as meant an exclusion from the whole Fraternity. Both Grand Lodges promised to supply one another with lists of their subordinate Lodges, their officers and members. Rules were laid down for festivals and honours which should be mutually given to visiting Grand Officers, etc. In conclusion, rules were set out for cases of disagreement between brethren belonging to two different Unions and between the two Unions themselves.⁶

We have now traced the history of the two Grand Lodges and their mutual relations nearly to the fateful hour of their dissolution under the order of the Government. Unlike their predecessors of the eighteenth century, Russian Lodges of Alexander's time, as we shall see, did not survive this blow, and no happy revival followed their prohibition. It is true that no such definite prohibition of Masonry was decreed in the eighteenth century, but we have first of all to look for the inner causes of the virtual extinction of Freemasonry in Russia. The decree was, perhaps, nothing but the knell over a doomed body. No decree can abolish that which is alive, but Russian Freemasonry of Alexander's days seems to have been attacked by a mortal disease, and signs of corruption must have been obvious, not only to the Government, but to many brethren themselves. What was, then, the state of these numerous Lodges the names of which, and some archives have alone survived?

¹ 1777-1830. Aide-de-camp to the Emperor, a brave General of Russian Cavalry.

² Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 423.

³ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 314.

⁴ S. Lanskoj was one of them. *ib.*, p. 410.

⁵ This obviously did not affect Rosicrucian Lodges as established in the eighteenth century, and never actually forbidden by the Government.

⁶ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 314, 315.

If we analyse the information available in respect to the period concerned we find that those aspects which were revealed at the beginning of the third period of Alexander's Masonry,¹ became more and more accentuated in the course of time. Its Lodges presented, indeed, a want of cohesion and a cumbersome agglomeration of men of entirely opposite views, both on Masonic and Social questions, and dangerous political strivings were noticeable in many a Lodge.

A variety of Masonic rituals and systems were represented in the 'Astrea' Lodges; even adherents of the high degrees were to be found among their members, though such degrees were not officially recognised by Astrea.² The system of its rival, the Provincial Grand Lodge, was more uniform, having kept intact the Swedish organisation of Masonry; but this Union was comparatively weak. No central Masonic authority existed which could impose a concordant Masonic system among brethren.² From Astrea's Table for 1819 we see that the following rites were practised by Lodges of this Union: Schroeder's System; the original eighteenth century system as it was worked in Yelaguin's Lodges and warranted by the Grand Lodge of England; the Swedish System; the "rectified Scottish Rite" as established by the Grand Orient of France; and Fessler's Rite.³

It is interesting to note that the all-tolerant Grand Lodge Astrea put a certain limitation to the pursuits of its members. In its own words, "the Lodges of the Union undertook not to follow rules of the so-called Illuminati and Mystics, neither of the Alchemists, to avoid all such purposes which are not in correspondence with natural and positive laws, and, lastly, not to try to restore the ancient Orders of Knighthood."⁴ This statement obviously reflects the rationalistic ideas of Fessler's and Schroeder's followers, ideas foreign to the inborn Russian mysticism; yet, in spite of this, the Astrean Union included on the one hand dreamers of revolutions carried through secret societies, and on the other typical mystics as well as believers in Masonic Templarism.⁵ What a profound discord must have animated the members!⁶ An illustration of the intensity of this discord is provided by the two following instances. On the 28th May a member of the Astrean Union, A. F. Labsin, a man of the mystical and Conservative school of thought, wrote to the Minister of Public Instruction and cults—A. N. Golitzin—insisting on the necessity of either bringing Masonic Lodges into a proper state or dissolving them altogether. Labsin did not condemn all existing Lodges, but pointed out that some of them had become distinctly harmful: "There are," said he, "those who rule Lodges and yet are very harmful men; not only do they not believe, but they even do not hide their atheism. Why should they corrupt young men who sometimes join their Lodges without any bad intentions?" Labsin asked the Minister to inform the Emperor of this at a fit opportunity. Another zealous Mason, P. I. Golenischev-Kutusov, in a number of reports, protested against the doctrine of "false Masonry."⁷ The Government, for a time, limited itself, with the insistence of the strictest adherence of Masonic chiefs to their duties towards the authorities.⁸ What a sad and humiliating picture of these 'brethren' so much in discord among themselves, and applying for redress to the Government! This, as we know, was not the first, and, as we shall see, unfortunately, not the last instance of that kind of 'brotherly love' then prevailing in Russian Lodges.⁹

In its third period of Alexander's days Russian Masonry appears to have lost nearly all the best of its eighteenth century features. At the earlier period it consisted mainly of the most educated men

¹ See page 47.

² Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 315.

³ *ib.*, pp. 315-316.

⁴ *ib.*, p. 316.

⁵ There were certain Templar Lodges outside the Astrean Union. *ib.*, p. 316.

⁶ *Russkaia Starina*, 1894, XII., 101.

⁷ T. Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phoenix*, p. 66.

⁸ *ib.*, p. 66.

⁹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 317. Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry in its past and present*, Also T. Sokolovskaia, *Russian Masonry*, p. 55.

of the time, the Russian aristocracy, both by birth and intellect; while later it was ruled by men of the ordinary middle-class, who in Russia, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were far from being of high education or culture. Civil servants, military officers, traders and simple artisans, with a sprinkling of aristocracy, were among members of the Union of Russian Lodges of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century Russian Masonry was national in its character; now it contained an astonishing number of foreigners, especially of Petersburg Germans of all description (officials, teachers, physicians, merchants, traders, artisans, etc.); there were also among its members many Poles and some Frenchmen, refugees from the French Revolution. Of the thirty Lodges of that time ten were working in German; three in French; two in Polish; eleven in Russian; two used both French and Russian; the remainder worked either both in German and in Polish, or in French and in Polish. Petersburg, which instead of Moscow, the real Masonic centre of Russia in the eighteenth century, became the leading Masonic town in Alexander's days, reckoned only five Russian Lodges, but there were four German Lodges, two French and one of a mixed character, Franco-Russian.¹

But perhaps the most sinister aspect of the Lodges was the political and revolutionary element which had crept into some of them. Even a superficial glance at the members of Astrean Lodges will convince us of this deplorable condition.

Astrea's Grand Master, Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce,² was followed in 1820 by Count Adam Rjevusky, one of the best names of the Polish aristocracy; his Deputy Grand Master was Prince Alexander Lobanov-Rostovsky, an honorary member of several Polish Lodges in Warsaw and Cracow. The Junior Grand Warden was Frederick Schoeller, the Prussian Ambassador to the Russian Court; the Grand Orator, F. Folbort, a Lutheran pastor. Count Stanislas Kostka-Potocky,³ Grand Master of the Polish Grand Orient, was an honorary member of Astrea.⁴

In the Lodge 'Peter of Truth,'⁵ Ellisen himself was in the chair; a strict Conservative and renowned mystic, Pavel I. Golenishev-Kutusov was, however, an honorary member of this same Lodge. Among its active members we find Pastor Busse, a well-known pietist, and Professor Gauenschild, and at the same time many Russian Generals and Guard officers; among the latter was Alexander von der Briggen, member of a secret political organisation with revolutionary aims.⁶

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 316-317.

² He was, besides his numerous Russian titles and ranks, an honorary member of the Royal York in Berlin, and of a Warsaw Lodge.

³ Minister of Public Instruction in the Kingdom of Poland.

⁴ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 318.

⁵ *ib.*, p. 318. To obtain a more representative picture, with a few exceptions, lists of membership for the whole third period have been perused for the following information.

⁶ He belonged to the so-called "Decembrists" (in Russian "Dekabristy"), the pioneers of the Revolutionary movement in modern Russia. At first their purpose was limited to the attainment of the abolition of serfdom, conscription and class privileges (establishment of "personal liberty"), but, under the influence of Paul Pestel, their aims assumed a more drastic character and became revolutionary, and even terroristic. Their principal object was to introduce into Russia a Constitutional mode of Government, if necessary without the Emperor's consent; many "Decembrists" wanted to establish a Republic, and some of them advocated the Emperor's murder. They established a secret political society, under the name of "The Union of Salvation," which, however, existed only four months. Its successor was "The Union of Welfare"; later this Union became sub-divided into the Northern Union, the Southern one, and that of the United Slavs. A military revolt took place on the 14th December, 1825 (hence the name of the "Decembrists"). A few artillery charges dispersed the revolutionary crowd, and Nicolas I. became Czar of Russia. Out of 121 "Decembrists" 27 were Masons, but most of them had left Masonic Lodges some time before. During the whole of the process Masonry was hardly mentioned at all. Among members of the Court appointed to try the "Decembrists" was a Mason, Mr. Speransky; and two other Masons, A. Benkendorf and A. Borovkov, were instrumental in the passing of very severe sentences. See Countess S. D. Tol, *Masonic Action* (a book which illustrates some of the grossly erroneous views held on Masonry in Russia at the beginning of this century), pp. 7, 16, 17, 22, 29, 119, 122, 188, 190, 201.

Among members of the Lodge 'Palestine'¹ were Karl Sayer, Secretary of the Grand Duke Nicolas Pavlovich²; Major Leontius Dubbelt, and a great number of Frenchmen (merchants, artists, etc.). The following degrees are mentioned in the list of members of these Lodges:—Grand Elect Knight Kadosh; Prince of Liban and Jerusalem; Grand Scottish Knight; Prince of Jerusalem; Rose Croix; Knight of the East; Scottish Knight.³ In the Lodge 'Neptune'⁴ the Deputy Master was a bookseller, Veiger.

The ruling Master of the Lodge 'Alexander of the Crowned Pelican'⁵ was the founder and the editor of the famous paper *Russian Invalid*, Paul Pesarovius, a secretary and leader of the so-called Biblical Society, the aims of which were the spreading of the Gospel's teaching and Christian mysticism. Another mystic and Rosicrucian, A. F. Labsin, was an honorary member of this Lodge. Yet practically all other active members of the Lodge were German traders and artisans.

The Lodge of the United Friends,⁶ which included among its adherents some representatives of the Russian aristocracy, was ruled by Colonel Ode-de-Sion, and General Prevo-de-Lumian. We find in the lists of its members A. D. Balashov, the previous Minister of Police; a poet and diplomat, Alexander Gribojedov; General-Major A. Benkendorf, later Chief of Gendarmes of Nicolas I.; Prince Alexander Wuerttemberg; Count Stamilas Potocki; Sergei Lasnkoy; Count Ivan Voronzov; Count D. M. Zubov; Counts Heraclius and Louis Polignac. But amidst that orthodox aristocracy our eyes meet names of Revolutionaries: F. D. Shahovskoy, Chaadaev,⁷ Mitkov, Pestel.⁷ To the honorary members belonged both Lieutenant-General E. A. Kushelev and Ignatius Fessler, the most opposite types of Mason one could meet: the former an extreme Conservative and a supporter of the Swedish Hierarchy in Masonry; the latter a representative of advanced Liberal views in social and Masonic questions. In the list of members of this Lodge the following high degrees are mentioned:—Rose-Croix; Knight of the East; Master Elect; Grand Ecossais.⁸

In the Lodge of 'The Flaming Star'⁹ the ruling Master was Baron Andrew Korf, a man of Radical political views; yet among its active members we find Boris Leccano, General of Infantry, an old Mason of Conservative type; Kondraty Ryleef, one of the Revolutionaries, is mentioned on the 1820-1821 list as a brother in the 1st degree.

In the Lodge of Michael the Elect¹⁰ the ruling Master was Count F. P. Tolstoy, an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Petersburg "Society for the Establishment of Schools following the method of Mutual Instruction."¹¹ Tolstoy and a few other Masons of his Lodge seemed to follow the traditions of their eighteenth century Masonic predecessors in establishing schools for the people, the chief aims of their Society were: (1) The publication of notable books of instruction in primary schools; (2) establishment of such schools; (3) assistance to those who might desire to establish similar schools in other towns than Petersburg; (4) instruction free of charge. Tolstoy's assistant in this Society was another member of 'Michael the Elect,' F. N. Glinka, unfortunately also a member of a secret political organisation; his second assistant was N. T. Grech, also a member of this Lodge; the former Lodge Orator, V. T. Grigorovich, later Secretary of the Academy of Arts, was the Secretary of the Society; the former Treasurer of the Lodge, N. T. Kussov,

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 318.

² Later, the Emperor of Russia, Nicholas I.

³ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 387.

⁴ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 318.

⁵ *ib.*, p. 318.

⁶ *ib.*, pp. 318-319.

⁷ Both described as being in the "5th degree."

⁸ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 386.

⁹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 319.

¹⁰ *ib.*, p. 319.

¹¹ A method introduced from England; these schools were known under the name of "Lancaster Schools."

was Treasurer of the Society. Count Vlad. Petr. Tolstoy, P. E. Dobrohotov and several other members of the Society were also members of 'Michael the Elect.' Unfortunately, as in Glinka's case, the activities of members of this Lodge, unlike their predecessors, were also political, and we find among them members of revolutionary societies, such as N. A. Bestujev, Michael Kuhelberker, Gavr. Step. Batenkov,¹ Nic. Tv. Turgenev. The character of this Lodge seems to have been a highly intellectual one; there were such members as N. Koshansky, a well known professor; K. Arsenief, a professor of the Petersburg University; Iv. Iv. Davydof, an assistant professor; Baron A. A. Delvig, etc.²

In the Lodge of the 'Northern Friends'³ the ruling Master⁴ was the famous A. Gerebsov. Among its members were Prince Nic. Ipsilanti, Lieutenant General Count Paul Shuvalov, Prince Alexey Shahovskoy, Philipp Vigel, etc.

The ruling Masters of the 'Russian Eagle'⁵ were in turn the two Princes Gagarin.⁶ Among its members were Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce, Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, A. Naryshkin, Prince V. Golitzin, etc.

The Lodge of the 'White Eagle'⁷ was entirely Polish; its ruling Master was Count Adam Rgevusski.

In the Moscow Lodge of 'Alexander of Triple Salvation'⁸ there were a great many German Traders, Manufacturers, and Artisans, but also the Rector of the Moscow University, Geim, Chief of the Police, Bibikov and Director of the Chancellery of the Moscow Governor, General Shafonsky; Staff-Surgeon Korsh; among its country members was Major-General Michael von Visin, member of a secret political society.

A number of notable men and among them many future revolutionaries are to be found on the list of the Lodge 'Three Virtues'⁹: Prince Serge Gr. Volkonsky, Major-General, Scottish Master, one of the revolutionary leaders; Prince Ilia Andr. Dolgoruky, member of a secret revolutionary society; Prince Serge Petr. Trubetzkoy, a founder of a secret revolutionary organisation; Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, Major-General; Sergei Iv. Muraviof-Apostole, founder of two secret political societies; his brother Matvey, also founder of secret political societies; Nikita Mih. Muraviof, founder of a secret political organisation; Pavel Iv. Pestel,¹⁰ a Guard Officer, one of the most violent leaders of revolutionaries; Alexander Nic. Muraviof, Colonel, founder of a secret political society; Peter Iv. Koloshin, member of secret political societies; etc. It is only fair to the memory of this Lodge to mention that most of its revolutionary members gradually retired from its lists.

In the Scottish Lodge 'Alexander'¹¹ an active member "in the 4th degree" was Sergei Lvovich Pushkin.

In the Poltava¹² Lodge 'Love of Truth' we encounter the well-known name of I. P. Kotlarevsky.

On the list of the Kief Lodge, 'United Slavs,'¹³ are the names of Princes Alexander and Peter Trubetzkoy.

¹ Batenkov acted as Secretary of the Tomsk Lodge, 'Eastern Luminary' (founded on the 30th August, 1818). He was a 'country member' of 'Michael the Elect.'

² Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 337.

³ *ib.*, p. 319.

⁴ In 1818-1819. He was Past Grand Master of the Grand Provincial Lodge, honorary member of several Lodges in Berlin, Paris and of the Provincial Lithuanian Lodge in Vilna.

⁵ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 320.

⁶ Iv. Alex. and Paul Gavril.

⁷ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 320.

⁸ *ib.*, p. 320.

⁹ For 1816-1819. *ib.*, pp. 302-321.

¹⁰ In 1820 he already was not among members of the Lodge.

¹¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 321.

¹² *ib.*, p. 321.

¹³ *ib.*, p. 321.

Among the members of the Royal Lodge of 'Three Axes'¹ was August Kotzebue.²

It is thus evident of what impossible mixture of men Russian Lodges of those days consisted: there were mystics and there were those who would gladly have removed any sign of mysticism from Masonic temples: there were believers in high degrees and those who have bitterly denounced them: there were Russians and there were Germans, French and Poles; there were fanatical Conservatives and there were revolutionary terrorists: there were even *agents provocateurs*!³ Some Lodges attempted to continue old Rosicrucian and mystical traditions: some were purely philanthropical, some only banqueting; some were of distinct political activities, either Liberal or Radical.⁴ No wonder that some of the old Masons of the Rosicrucian (Schwarz's and Novikov's) school began to dissociate themselves from the Masonic movement.⁵ It is rather remarkable that the whole shapeless structure did not collapse before it actually did. One asks oneself what it was that attracted all these different types of people into Masonry, for at that time Masonry was quite popular among Russian Society.⁶ What did they all do in it?

There were many who, having joined with a sincere purpose of moral self-improvement, or of search for hidden paths to virtue and godliness, became grievously disappointed in the Society; some of such members were after a time taken in hand by old Masons, as was the case with the author of the letter referred to previously, but some continued to look at Masonry merely as an agreeable distraction and amusement. The latter were joined by those who entered out of sheer curiosity, or for the purpose of pleasurable banquets. Open jokes at the expense of serious Masons were sometimes allowed by these members.⁷ A description of such a Lodge has been preserved in the memoirs of a member of the 'Northern Friends':—

During my first meeting with Vielgorsky, he could not suppress his surprise and regret on learning that I belonged to a company which among descendants of Knight Templars⁹ did not possess a good reputation; it appeared as if my morals were in danger. None of the 'Northern Friends' were inspired by the sentiments of a true Freemason: Sion, Prev and all others were gay booze-birds; with difficulty they retained a serious countenance during ceremonies, after which they hastened to enjoy themselves, to drink and to eat, especially to drink; all admonitions of the 'Mother Lodge' were in vain, but when later I had a better opportunity of knowing Masons belonging to the Lodge 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' where the Grand Master Vielgorsky himself was in the chair, I found that they were just the same: they also liked to enjoy themselves and to feast, only doing this in a small circle concealed from the eyes of the world. With the exception of Vielgorsky their chief, I did not find among them a single man worthy of respect.

So there was a fairly numerous category of those Masons to whom the jovial banquet after Lodge Meetings was the main attraction.¹⁰ On the other hand, there were a few real Masons, like Vielgorsky and Boeber, who firmly believed in the great antiquity, glory and mystical import of Freemasonry; they naturally

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 321.

² August Fr. Kotzebue, born at Weimar in 1761, came to Russia in 1781, murdered at Mannheim in 1819, a talented poet and theatrical writer.

³ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 321.

⁴ Bar. Rosen, *Memoirs of a Dekabrist*, p. 78. Countess Tol, *Masonic Action*, p. 6.

⁵ *Eshesky*, III., 565.

⁶ See, for instance, Prgeclavsky's *Reminiscences* in the *Russkaia Starina*, 1874, II., 454.

⁷ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 322.

⁸ Vigel's *Memoirs*, II., IV., 148-149; III., V., 56-57. Quoted by Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 322.

⁹ As we have seen, Vielgorsky was one of the most prominent adherents of the Swedish System, and a firm believer in higher degrees of Knighthood.

¹⁰ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 322.

had a circle of followers; so also had serious Masons of a different type, those who professed more Liberal views and followed Schroeder's and Fessler's doctrines, and were preoccupied mostly with the charitable and moral side of Masonic teachings.¹

Then there were Masons who followed the pure traditions of the eighteenth century Rosicrucian School, but, with few exceptions, they do not seem to have had much real influence on the Masonry of those days. They continued to hold their secret meetings undisturbed by boisterous Masons of a new generation or by any police control,² and they displayed quite remarkable literary activities. Boeme, Saint Martin, and Eckartshausen were translated; and many other mystical works appeared in print. A great mystical literature, both original and in translation, sprang up.³ This literature, coupled with verbal teaching and exemplary lives, undoubtedly exercised a certain influence on the best representatives of Russian Masonry: both Lanskoj and Vielgorsky were guided by Rosicrucians, but these mystical tendencies and Rosicrucian studies of alchemy, Kabala and similar subjects, did not permeate Russian Lodges as they had done in the eighteenth century. Rosicrucians stood aloof from the New Masons, and continued their gatherings and initiations into the "Theoretical degree" in great secrecy and concealment.⁴ Their influence on Russian Society was apparently considerable; in some circles Mysticism was zealously studied, both in theory and even in practice.

Old Rosicrucian leaders of the eighteenth century (such as I. V. Lopuhin,⁵ N. I. Novikov,⁶ S. I. Gamaleia,⁷ etc.) had a number of pupils like Maxim Nevzorof,⁸ A. F. Labsin, and Professor M. I. Mudrof,⁹ who worked indefatigably and tried to live up to what they preached.¹⁰

Besides those Masons who pursued in the Order their mystical search, or who saw in it a path to moral self-improvement, and besides those for whom Masonry was merely a new mode of enjoyment and distraction, there were others who had joined with the object of securing some material advantages: they expected help in difficulties from wealthy members of the Craft, or, at all events, a furtherance of their career through influential relations thus acquired.¹¹ Some candidates strove to enter the Fraternity to rub shoulders with those who were in a superior position, to dine with well-known representatives of aristocracy, and so gradually to establish for themselves and families better social connections.¹²

Last, but by no means the least, a strong political element penetrated into the Lodges. Masonic equality, somewhat wrongly understood, attracted into Masonry men who saw in it a possibility of a united work against class privileges and of a combined protest against Autocratic Government. For these Liberal-minded young Masons the Fraternity represented nothing else than a step towards emancipation of the Russian society from what they regarded as the 'tyranny' of the then existing authorities; real Masonic ideals were not

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 322-323. See also Prgeclavsky's *Reminiscences* in the *Russkaia Starina*, 1874, II., 466.

² Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry in its past and present*, II., 72-73.

³ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 324.

⁴ Melgunov & Sidorov, *Masonry in its past and present*, II., 75.

⁵ 1756-1816.

⁶ 1744-1818.

⁷ 1743-1822.

⁸ Died 1827.

⁹ Matvey Iakovlevich Mudrov, a well-known Professor of Medicine, a deeply religious man, 1772-1831.

¹⁰ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 323, 324, 325. Prgeclavsky's *Reminiscences* in the *Russkaia Starina*, 1874, II., 476, 468, 466. Prgeclavsky evidently himself belonged to the Rosicrucian Circle; his beloved reading was "Occulta"; he studied Pythagoras Cornelius Agrippa, Gabalis, etc. (See page 474 in his *Reminiscences*).

¹¹ And apparently in these expectations they were not altogether disappointed. We are told that not only a general preference was given by one Mason to another, but sometimes a judge-Mason would give decisions against profanes in favour of Masons, even at the expense of judicial impartiality. (See Prgeclavsky's *Reminiscences* in the *Russkaia Starina*, 1874, II., 454, 466, 467.

¹² Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 525.

their object.¹ These Liberal members of the Fraternity constituted a link between Freemasonry and the secret political societies which made their appearance in Russia during that epoch.² The dreams and strivings of the young Liberals were well characterised by the famous Mason Poet, Pushkin, in verses of 1818 dedicated to Chaadaev, also an active Mason and a man of Radical political views:—"So long as our hearts are inflamed by the desire of liberty and alive to the feeling of honour, my friend, let us dedicate the strivings of our soul to our country: Believe me comrade: it will come, the dawn of the enchanting happiness, Russia will awake . . ."³ But besides the Liberals, with their somewhat dreary strivings and theoretical discussions of desirable political changes, we find in Russian Lodges practical revolutionaries, even terrorists. It is not, therefore, surprising that political discussions took place in Lodges, and an important landmark of Freemasonry was freely violated.⁴ In one contemporary description of a meeting of the Union of Welfare, a secret political society, we read:—"Nearly all present were zealous Masons . . . they wanted to introduce into the Union of Welfare some sort of Masonic Order."⁵ Another contemporary, relating the formation of the first secret society of a political nature, says: "Members of the Union also established several other societies influenced by its spirit and tendencies . . . and two Masonic Lodges in which the majority of members consisted of members of the Union of Welfare." The author does not mention the names of these two revolutionary Lodges, but probably these were 'Michael the Elect' and 'Three Virtues.'⁶ It appears that the Lodge 'St. George the Conqueror' was another instance of Masonry harbouring political activities.⁷ It is also a strange coincidence that a revolutionary society established in 1823 assumed the name of the Kief Lodge—"United Slavs"—a Lodge of which very little is known. The official enquiry into the activities of this society, held after the revolt of 1825, revealed in its rules and customs much that was similar to such a Masonic body; more than that, it was stated that when establishing the society the wish was expressed by some founders of "including into it some Masonic Lodges."⁸

We seem, therefore, to have conclusive proofs that a dangerous political element existed in Russian Masonry at the period under review. Although Masonry as such was not guilty of any incentive to revolutionary activities, yet it happened that Masonry in Russia at that time harboured some highly suspicious members of secret political organisations.⁹ Thus organisms weakened by continual strife and lack of caution, not adequately controlled by a well-directed central will power, are an easy prey to germs breeding grave diseases and an ultimate ruin; the latter was not slow in coming.

We have seen that signs of interior discord and corruption had also become apparent. But a remarkable document emanating from the pen of a leading Mason throws a lurid light on the state of the Lodges of Alexander's reign during the third period of their existence. This Mason was Egor Andreovich Kushelev,¹⁰ Lieutenant-General and Senator, Deputy Grand Master of Astrea in 1820; and the document is his report, presented to the Emperor in June, 1821.¹¹ E. A. Kushelev¹² was a Mason of a very old School, and in politics an extreme Conservative; also he was a very religious man. His Masonic ideal was the Swedish System as originally introduced into Russia in

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 325-326.

² *ib.*, p. 326.

³ Quoted by Puipin, *ib.*, p. 326.

⁴ *ib.*, pp. 326-327.

⁵ *ib.*, p. 327.

⁶ *ib.*, p. 327.

⁷ *ib.*, p. 327.

⁸ *ib.*, pp. 327-328.

⁹ *ib.*, p. 328.

¹⁰ 1763-1826.

¹¹ The time of the Laibach Congress.

¹² See about him in Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 329-330. Also *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 456, 463.

the eighteenth century and then restored to its former splendour by the Grand Directorial Lodge Vladimir. But not only did Kushelev disapprove of 'Masonic innovations' as destroying true Masonic doctrines; he also saw the danger of the Lodges becoming nests of the 'Illuminati' with revolutionary political views. He was set against all division of Masonic authority, and deplored the lack of unity among the Masons of later days. When elected in 1820 Deputy Grand Master of Astrea, Kushelev decided to restore the old rules and doctrines as he understood them, but his intentions were opposed by members holding Masonic and political views widely different from his own creed; he then decided to bring the matter before the Emperor; he considered this his duty towards the Government and Freemasonry itself. Accordingly he wrote a report in which he related the past of Russian Masonry, shewed that, in his view, its position was a very dangerous one, and offered his advice upon the measures necessary to improve its condition. The high social position of Kushelev and his close relations to Freemasonry must have given some weight to his opinions in the mind of the Emperor (who was then surrounded by extreme reactionaries, headed by Prince Metternich), swinging from indecisive Liberal ideas to the reaction which characterised the latter period of his reign. The Emperor must have been in a receptive mood for such a communication, for he was deeply impressed by the dangerous unrest in Europe, due, apparently, to activities of secret societies with political aims.

Kushelev's report is so illustrative of the History of Russian Freemasonry of his time, so characteristic of the views of an important section of Russian Masons, and to some extent of the Russian Government, too, that I give a full translation in an Appendix to this paper, the translation being made from the reprint of the original manuscript in one of the best Russian periodicals.¹

It will be seen that Kushelev recommended that Masonry should be placed still more strictly under the control of the Government, or, alternatively, that all Lodges should be permanently closed.

It is not known how far the Emperor was influenced by the report. It may be that Kushelev's rhetoric did not produce the whole effect which he desired,² although, as already mentioned, his high position in Russian Society and Freemasonry must have commended his views to Alexander's attention. The most probable effect was some alienation of the Emperor from Russian Lodges. This alienation, however, had probably existed even before Kushelev's report reached the Emperor's hands. It must not be forgotten that since the re-establishment of Russian Lodges during the first years of Alexander's reign they were constantly under police supervision, and the Government, including Alexander himself, possessed the closest information about Masonic activities in Russia.³ Hence the latest undesirable tendencies and doubtful membership of a number of Lodges must have been known to the Emperor. This, perhaps, accounts for a prohibition which was issued on the 29th June, 1821, against the printing of a collection of "Masonic Songs and other compositions," all of Masonic publications being thus vetoed.⁴ Yet the ever-vacillating Emperor did not seem able to make up his mind as to the proper attitude towards Russian Masonry. His previous associations with Masons and personal regard for many of them might, perhaps, account for this.

The following occurrence is recorded in the Minutes of Labsin's Lodge 'The Dying Sphynx,' as having taken place *after* Kushelev's report had been presented to the Emperor. On the 18th December, 1821, the Lodge was re-opened after having been sealed by the police, following information given by a servant. That information was reported by the Governor-General to the Emperor himself, who replied: "The police should not have entered and sealed

¹ *Russkaia Starina*, 1877., XVIII.

² Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 331.

³ *ib.*, p. 331.

⁴ Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phoenix*, p. 82. The Chief of the Secret Police of the military Governor of Petersburg, a certain Vogel, was himself a Mason. *Russkaia Starina*, 1874, II., 677 (Prgeclvosky's Reminiscences).

the Lodge and its belongings, seeing it was nothing else but a usual Masonic Lodge which ought to have been left in peace"; and an order was then given to return the objects seized, the Emperor remarking: "They are more useful to Masonry than to the police."¹

Gradually the hesitating mind of the Emperor became permeated with the idea of dangers concealed within secret societies; no doubt, activities of secret political societies in Russia, and the presence therein of several Masons, were also known to the Emperor. As we have seen, some prominent Masonic leaders themselves warned the Emperor against the spirit which then prevailed in many Lodges, and this, as has been shown, was not without foundation. In 1822 Count Gaugwitz, himself a Prussian Mason, presented to the Emperors of Russia and Austria a memorandum in which he strongly advised the closing of Lodges in the two countries, although at the very time the King of Prussia was extending his protection to all Prussian Lodges.² Count Gaugwitz evidently followed in Kushelev's steps discriminating between useful and harmful Masonry. The forces of extreme reaction which at that time were gathering round the weak Emperor, both abroad and at home, were continually warning him against social activities independent of the Government, and pointed out Masonry as one of such dangers.

At last, on the 1st of August, 1822, that is to say, nine months after the presentation of Kushelev's report,³ the Emperor decreed the closing of all Masonic Lodges in Russia. No previous warning was given, either to Masonic leaders or to the public; the decree and its suddenness do not seem to have been anticipated, and, apparently, struck Russian Lodges as a thunderbolt from blue skies.⁴ The suddenness and severity of the decision are not surprising when we take into account the weak character of the Emperor, apt to act under the influence of his immediate surroundings; and the grounds for his decision were ample if we picture to ourselves the state of Russian Masonry in those days.

Alexander's decree was addressed to the Minister of Interior Affairs Kochubey; it prohibited definitely Masonic Lodges and all secret societies in general. Count Kochubey immediately forwarded two letters in the same terms, one to the Grand Master of 'Astrea,' Count Wassily Walentinovich Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce, and the other to the Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Provincial Lodge, Sergei Stepanovich Lansky.⁵ The letters were worded as follows⁶ :—

Disorders and scandals caused in other countries by the existence of different secret societies, of which some under the name of Masonic Lodges had at first Charity as their object, but later applied themselves to political aims and destruction of the tranquillity of States, made it imperative in several countries to prohibit such secret societies.

Our Emperor ever watchful to guard against all that may injure his Empire, especially at the present juncture when mental speculations bring forth such sad occurrences as have been witnessed in other countries, has deemed it good to decree:—

(1). All secret societies under whatever denomination, Masonic Lodges or others, shall be closed and in future not allowed to be established;

¹ Puipin, *Social movement*, p. 332.

² Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 429.

³ Puipin, *Social movement*, pp. 328 and 332. *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 463.

⁴ *ib.*, II., 466 (Prgeclavsky's Reminiscences). Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phoenix*, p. 88.

⁵ 1787-1862; later, as Minister of Interior under Alexander II., he prepared the project of abolishment of serfdom in Russia; in 1860 received the title of a Count.

⁶ *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 650.

(2). This to be communicated to all members of the said societies and such members to give a written undertaking that they will not in future constitute under any disguise, Masonic or secret societies, either in the Empire or abroad.

I inform you of the above Imperial decision and humbly request your Highness (Excellency) to co-operate in its execution and as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge 'Astrea' (Provincial) to instruct all subordinate Lodges to cease their work and close their meetings, and to obtain written undertakings from all brethren belonging thereto, not to establish any such in future.

Your Highness (Excellency) will greatly oblige me if you will inform me in due time regarding the success of your dispositions in respect of the said objects, and also, deliver at the same time, all written undertakings given on this occasion by brother-masons.

On the 10th August, the last open meeting of Russian Masons took place. The agenda of the meeting was—to hear the decree of prohibition, to give the desired written undertakings, and to dispose of available Masonic funds. These meetings and the subsequent closing of Lodges passed without incidents.¹

The reply given to the Minister of Interior Affairs by S. S. Lanskoï was as follows²:—

Dear Sir,

Count Victor Pavlovich:

In consequence of your communication of 6th August under N 565, informing me of His Majesty's command to close Masonic Lodges, I beg to bring to your knowledge, Dear Sir, that for its fulfilment, I have taken the following measures:—

(1). Five Masonic Lodges existing here under the direction of the Grand Provincial Lodge, namely (1) 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' (2) 'Three Virtues,' (3) 'Three Luminaries' (all these Lodges working in Russian), (4) 'The Oak Valley of Fidelity' (working in German), and (5) 'Orpheus' (working in French), were closed on the 12th of this month without any ceremony by my simple declaration;

(2). The undertakings, given according to the high command, from all members of the said five Lodges, who were present, numbering 95, are herewith forwarded;

(3). In respect of closing of the Moscow Lodge 'Seekers for Manna' (working in Russian), also governed by the Grand Provincial Lodge, I communicated with the ruler of the same Court Councillor Von Visin as per copy enclosed;

(4). To those members of Lodges here established who are absent, I addressed a circular letter, copy enclosed, demanding the desired undertakings which on receipt I shall have the honour of forwarding to Your Excellency directly.

(5). There was under the direction of the Grand Provincial Lodge, also one Lodge in Odessa named 'Pont Evxin' (which worked both in Russian and several foreign languages); its Master in the chair was Count Alexander Fedorovich Langeron, and the Deputy Master, the French Vice-Consul Chalet. So far as I know, this Lodge was closed before the declaration of the Imperial command; as the Grand Lodge had already ceased relations with the said Odessa Lodge, it is impossible for me to get the desired undertakings from its members.

I take this opportunity to explain to Your Excellency, that members of those Lodges which were under the direction of the Grand Provincial

¹ *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 654.

² *Moscow Museum*, N., 1952.

Lodge, were filled with feelings of loyalty towards His Majesty the Emperor and always tried to show such in practice; during their meetings, following the Laws of the Grand Provincial Lodge, no political discussions¹ were allowed, and brethren were instructed in such rules as are founded on Christianity² and execution of citizens' duties, required by our Government. We did not have any communications with other secret societies, and no such communications would have been allowed. And now, having heard from me the Will of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, as explained by Your Excellency, our members are willingly fulfilling this high command being always and in every case ready to obey. I take the liberty of asking Your Excellency to inform His Imperial Majesty of this their readiness and most loyal sentiments.

With perfect respect and obedience, I have the honour to be Your Excellency's most humble servant.

S. Lanskoj.

In St. Petersburg.

16/or 17th August 1822.

In September 83 further undertakings were forwarded to the Minister.³

On the 11th August the military Governor-General of Petersburg, Miloradovich, reported to the Emperor⁴:—

On the 6th August I received a communication from County Kochubey accompanying Your Imperial Majesty's decree concerning the abolishment of Masonic Lodges and other secret societies. Count Mussin-Pushkin visited me on the 9th August and told me that he considered it necessary to call a meeting of Lodges for the purpose of obtaining written undertakings and for the disposal of sums available. I replied, that after the Imperial decree Masons did not exist any more, and their meetings could not take place; but as in his opinion, a meeting was necessary for a quicker fulfilment of what had been prescribed, such could be arranged but not as a meeting of Masons; it only could be a meeting of private persons who had to settle their mutual accounts, and give the desired undertakings. I also mentioned that it would be both ridiculous and prejudicial to employ on such occasion any Masonic expressions, signs, and ceremonies. The Count declared that nothing of the kind would occur and that he would do his best to settle everything in a proper manner, being ready to execute the Imperial command with willingness and sincerity.

Yesterday I received from Count Mussin-Pushkin the enclosed letter concerning the closed Lodges.

Speaking generally, the former Masons took the declaration of the closing of their Lodges with indifference. Some say that their Union can never be dissolved. There are even rumours that some of them propose to meet in their country houses. All this as well as the unexpected indifference makes me strengthen my attention to all their actions. But all those who do not belong to Masonic Lodges are exceedingly pleased with the Government Order.⁵

The day after the closing of the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' the Grand Provincial Lodge ceased to exist. This was reported by the same Military Governor:—

¹ Such were as it seems centred in some Astrean Lodges.

² It must be remembered that the Grand Provincial Lodge worked and followed the Swedish Rite and Customs. It apparently followed the principles of the first Directorial Lodge of Prince Vladimir of the Order. Kushelev does not seem to have known this.

³ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, p. 456.

⁴ *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 652.

⁵ This seems to be a remark flattering those who were in power and influenced the Emperor at that time. There does not appear to be evidence that the decree had provoked any especial pleasure, but rather the contrary, in Russian Society; with the exception of a few particular circles.

On the 11th August, I was informed by Count Pushkin that the Grand Lodge 'Astrea' and eight subordinate Lodges were closed. State Councillor Sergei Stepanovich Lanskoï¹ showed great grief and discontent. However, everything proceeded peacefully. Those assembled parted with mutual assurances of eternal friendship.²

Thus was finished the open existence of Freemasonry during the reign of the Emperor Alexander I. His decree was confirmed on the 21st of April, 1826, by his successor, Nicholas I. Russian Freemasonry of Alexander's days, unlike the movement of the eighteenth century, never recovered from the blow it received by the hand of the Emperor who first protected it. Freemasonry may have lingered³ in the provinces and in some isolated cases even in both capitals of Russia, but it never played again that great role which it attained in the eighteenth century and partly at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Only Rosicrucian Lodges and meetings of adepts in doctrines inculcated in Russia by the great Masonic and Rosicrucian leaders of the eighteenth century, Schwartz and Novikov, have apparently continued their enlightened activities up to the present day.⁴ They wisely stood aloof from those Lodges which in Alexander's day adopted principles hardly compatible with true Masonry and accepted members hardly worthy of a Mason's name; thus their inner strength remained unimpaired and carried them even through the turbulent days of the Russian Revolution.

Russian Freemasonry, with the exception of Rosicrucian Lodges, perished; but it would be wrong to consider that it perished from an external blow. Persecutions strengthen healthy social growths; and even those which are not healthy, but possess sufficient vitality and clearly-defined aims, manage to survive. Russian Freemasonry of Alexander's day apparently possessed neither; it was not healthy, and it had no real aims and no real vitality, although there were in it undoubtedly some individual members of high Masonic standing and conceptions. The blow itself was to a certain degree provoked by members who deplored its lamentable condition, and this condition was the only real cause of its disappearance from Russia. This should be a warning and a lesson, not only to present and future Russian Masons, but also to brethren in more fortunate countries where Freemasonry holds a different position. Let them beware of three great dangers which brought the downfall of Russian Freemasonry:—

1. The introduction into Masonry of political aims or objects, no matter how laudable and well-intentioned they may be;
2. The admittance into Masonic mysteries of persons unworthy to appreciate true Masonic aims and ideals, no matter how slow may otherwise be the increase of Masonic membership;
3. An attempt to combine various systems, all Masonic in name, but widely divergent in aims and ideals, for this brings not unity, but discord.

Imperceptibly the spirit of brotherly love, that primal Masonic virtue, departs⁵; an empty shell remains; a blast of wind, and it is gone. Such is the picture of Russian Freemasonry during the reign of the Emperor Alexander I.

¹ Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Provincial Lodge.

² *Russkaia Starina*, 1877, XVIII., 652.

³ Sokolovskaia, *The Chapter Phoenix*, pp. 89-90. *Masonry*, pp. 20-22. *Russkaia Starina*, 1874, II., 468 (Prgeclavsky's Reminiscences).

⁴ Puipin, *Russian Masonry*, pp. 472, 473, 478, 480, 481. Kandaouroff, *Russian Freemasonry* (Manuscript, Paris, 1922), 14a.

⁵ See, for example, *Reminiscences of Mrs. A. E. Labsin*, pp. 118, 127, 132, 144 (St. Petersburg, 1914).

APPENDIX.

Kushelev's Report to the Emperor.

I.

Memorandum concerning the occasion which quite unexpectedly made me the ruler of the Masonic Union of the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' and the one reason for which I took the liberty of accepting this burden.

In my soul I have made a vow—to try zealously with all my strength and capacities, and to act not only in the Senate but at every other opportunity towards Your Imperial Majesty, as if towards my father, that is to say not like a slave or a hired man, but like a son true and useful. And at the end of the month of August, a new course of the truest service to Your Majesty appeared to me: an unforeseen call and invitation conveyed to me by numerous deputations sent by the Masonic Union of the Grand Lodge Astrea with the most persuasive request to me to take the place of the actual State Councillor and Inspector of the second cadet-corps, Boeber, who died in the month of July and to accept the position occupied by him—that of the Deputy Grand Master, thus becoming Ruler over the Grand Lodge and its Union, in order to preserve it by bringing the whole into proper state; this was so much the more necessary because the Grand Master Count Rgevussky, elected in the month of July, was leaving for his Polish estates—his constant abode. Conveying the above mentioned requests, Count Rgevussky both accompanied by deputations and unaccompanied, visited me several times. Having long ago left all such Societies, I expressed thanks for the honour, but declined it with determination; at last after repeated requests, Count Rgevussky on behalf of the whole Union and on his own behalf came to see me once more, and tried to persuade me to accept the rulership over the Union, declaring that although he was due to leave long ago he could not and dared not pass his rulership with confidence to anyone but me, and that, should I not accept, he would resign his rank, leave the Lodges and go away. This frank explanation, put me into an extreme wonderment and embarrassment: on one side I did not know if the acceptance would meet with the approval of Your Majesty, and if I would not in such a case involuntarily displease My Sovereign whose benevolence is for me as dear as life; on the other hand, I had to consider the importance of circumstances known not only abroad, but also in our own country, namely, that in many kingdoms, and especially in the Kingdom of Naples, through secret sects and societies, particularly through the sect of the Carbonari, there arose free-thought, revolutions, riots, bloodshed and that the chiefs of the sect of the Carbonari and their most active associates, were appropriating to themselves the supreme powers at the beginning of any revolution. Although in the whole of the world there is no other example of Fidelity to the throne and the Sovereign as in our Russian Empire, yet we have to remember that even small families sometimes include unwise and bad intentioned members, and how much more is this the case in larger societies. Taking in view such possibilities and considering the brooding of Spirits in Europe, which obliges one to the exercise of a great prudence; remembering moreover, that in the reign of your Grandmother¹ of blessed memory, a nest of Illuminati and Martinists² was discovered in Moscow, and not only these societies were annihilated but even the house of their meetings near Suharev's Tower³ was destroyed (the ruins were later purchased by Count Sheremetev and a hospital established on that place), I did not know what to do, and asked Count Rgevussky to give me two days to think over the matter. At the same time I asked the Minister of Interior Affairs Count Kochubey to grant me an interview and such having been granted, I explained

¹ Catharine II.

² Kushelev obviously refers to Novikov's process, he does not seem to have understood its real import; he mixes up Rosicrucians or 'Martinists' with the 'Illuminatis.'

³ A well-known market place in Moscow.

to him everything with frankness; I also mentioned to him that in a way, as a faithful subject of your Majesty, I felt within myself such elation as if it were the call of Providence itself. I further explained that I considered it my special duty to accept such an important office and rank, in order that they would not fall into the clutches of a prying wolf or a bad-intentioned outcast. I added that yet I feared to do something which might displease Your Majesty: After the Minister of the Interior had approved my principles, and loyal intentions, and assured me that I had not the least cause of fearing Your Monarchical displeasure, then having invoked God's grace and strength in aid to my pure zeal and intentions I declared to Count Rgevussky, in reply to his and the whole Astrean Union's requests, my consent. I was then elected by all its members, and on the same day a deputation came to see me, inviting me to the Grand Lodge Meeting; I followed the invitation, and was solemnly proclaimed by Count Rgevussky as having been elected Deputy Grand Master by the whole of the Union. Nevertheless, before accepting this election, I put before the Union, as preliminary conditions of my acceptance, the following points:—

First: to attain the aim of true Freemasonry: this aim being the way, the truth, the life and the obedience as declared by the true laws of the Order of True Brethren Free-Masons, founded on the greatest Light of all Lights, that is to say, on the Holy Gospels.¹ One must strive oneself to this Light, and direct others to the same path. Whoever has been illuminated by this Light, everything else will come to him. To attain this only perfect beatitude, one must exercise perfect humility, patience, obedience, love and union in love of all brethren.

Secondly: I was ready to swear the fulfilment of Masonic Constitutions of the Grand Lodge Astrea, which as aforesaid, should be founded on the Holy Gospels and inculcate an unshaken fidelity and adherence to Christianity through a live faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; but their further foundation must be fidelity to Our Most Gracious Sovereign Your Imperial Majesty as God's representative on earth, as father of our Country; and to our Motherland: then in a strict obedience to such sacred laws, I could not fail to serve all brethren by my own example. Might I also hope that Brethren on their side would mutually conform themselves thereto?

And thirdly: I could accept and hold the honour and rank proffered to me only if and so long as the Government is agreeable to it.

I asked for a frank answer, if they were willing to accept or to reject such my principles, and the whole of the Grand Lodge unanimously declared their willingness to accept them and assured me that they did not recognise any other but these same true Masonic Principles. In view of that and not before, did I promise to justify their great confidence in me by trying constantly, with the help of Masters in the chair, to look after the welfare of all brethren who have entrusted themselves to our guidance, and to preserve strictly the Laws and discipline of the Order.

All this is explained in detail in the first instruction addressed by me to all Masters in the chair, and circulated among Lodges to be implicitly obeyed; I deemed it necessary to compile this instruction at the first executive Committee Meeting of the Grand Lodge on the 16th December 1820, and an exact copy of it was presented to the Minister of the Interior to whom I continually gave information of all actions taken in all Lodges.² In the meantime Count Rgevussky left for his estates the next day after my election.

This my memorandum, written with filial frankness and sincerity to explain the only cause of my acceptance of the rulership over the Union until, on Your Majesty's return, Your Sovereign wishes will be known to me, I take the liberty as my absolute duty, to lay at Your Majesty's feet.

¹ The belief that true Free-Masonry was founded on Principles of Christianity was not new for Russian Brethren. Such prominent Masonic leaders of the eighteenth century as Novikov and Lopuhin were clearly of the same opinion. See Barskov's *Correspondence of Moscow Masons in the 18th Century*, and Lopuhin's *Catechism of a Free Mason*.

² An attitude very characteristic of the Russian Freemasonry of those days, which was seemingly divided into two chief political camps, those who followed the instructions of the Government, and those who adhered to revolutionary Societies.

II.

A brief history of the introduction of Masonic Lodges into Russia, of changes therein, and the actual state of Lodges now existing (that is to say, 1821 in St. Petersburg).

Lodges of the Masonic Fraternity appeared in Russia during the reign of the Emperor Peter the Great of blessed memory after his Majesty's return from foreign countries. The first Lodge was established by this Sovereign in St. Petersburg, and his favourite Councillor, General Lefort, became Master in the Chair.

From that time Masonic Lodges spread both in St. Petersburg and Moscow and worked sometimes separately, sometimes jointly under the directorship of a ruling or Directorial Grand Lodge which was always governed by a Grand Master, but they did not possess any written warrant for their existence.

During the happy reign of Your Imperial Majesty, namely in 1805, the German Lodge of the Pelican was re-established, which had existed in the days of the Empress Catharine II. After your Majesty's permission for this restoration and the declaration of such by the late Minister of Police, Balashov, the Lodge was adorned by the addition of the August name of Your Imperial Majesty; it became 'Alexander of the Crowned Pelican,' and was ruled by the Actual State Councillor Boeber.

From this Lodge two others issued in 1810: the first under the name of 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' a Russian one; and the second under the name of 'Peter of Truth.' Hence three Lodges already existed. They united and subordinated themselves to the Chief or Directorial Lodge called 'The Holy Prince Vladimir of Order' and were directed by the Grand Master Boeber who delivered the most faithful information to the Minister of Police both concerning the working of this Grand or Mother Lodge and of all its subordinate Lodges.¹

The name of the Grand Lodge 'Vladimir' was very appropriate considering that true Masonry, as testified by its most ancient acts, historical papers, many documents and rituals, was founded on the true Christian principles, and that Christianity was introduced into Russia through the fiery zeal unto Christ the Saviour of the said great Prince Vladimir who enlightened his people with the Sun of Truth baptising them.

At the same time two French Lodges were also working, formerly secret and independent, namely: the Lodge of 'The United Friends' and 'Palestine.' Their rulers were: of the former the actual Kammerherr² Gerebzo; of the latter—its Master in the Chair.

When the Minister of Public Instruction Count Rasumovsky demanded those acts which were followed by Lodges in their work, Grand Master Boeber and Gerebzo presented them. The acts presented by Boeber were the most ancient and truly Masonic both in regard to three St. John's degrees and higher grades. The Minister declared to them that they could continue their work but until the acts were returned no new members should be accepted, and this was strictly fulfilled.

Afterwards, the Minister returned the acts directly to Mr. Boeber declaring that he had most loyally put them for his Imperial Majesty's consideration and that His Majesty commanded that all Lodges should work under the direction of the Grand Directorial Lodge "Prince Vladimir of Order" according to the ancient acts existing in Russia and which were already used by the aforesaid Lodges; and that no Lodges in Russia could otherwise exist or be established except only by the authority of their Grand Lodge and its ruling Master Boeber, on whom was to rest the whole responsibility in everything concerning this matter and who had to report to the Minister of Police.

In consequence of this Imperial decision, two independent Lodges, having no right to continue the working of their special rites, joined the Union of the Grand Directorial Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order' directed by the Grand Master Boeber, and the whole Union worked according to one set of acts, while Boeber as Grand Master made reports about the proceedings of the Union to the Minister of Police.³

¹ Very characteristic again!

² An important post of honour at the Emperor's Court.

³ A very useful sort of Masonry for the Minister of Police!

In the meantime, some old Masons expressed the desire to re-establish the ancient Lodge of 'Neptune' in Kronstadt. Count Viasmitinov, the acting Minister of Police, most loyally reported this to Your Imperial Majesty. Having received this report whilst abroad, Your Imperial Majesty most graciously allowed by writing the re-opening of the aforesaid Lodge, but only on the condition that all previously established rules on this subject should be strictly adhered to. Thus, the aforesaid Lodge was re-opened under the name of 'Pelican of Hope.'

Judging by this command of Your Majesty, all Lodges existent in Your large Empire, should follow unbrokenly and faithfully one rule, that is to say, they all should work under the direction of the Grand Directorial Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order,' not deviating from its laws by a single feature and without introduction of any changes; hence no Lodges should continue or be newly opened otherwise than with the express permission and direct instruction of the aforesaid Grand Directorial Lodge and its Grand Master Boeber. But the contrary to that happened, as Your Majesty will see from the following:—

When I assumed the direction of the now existing Lodge called 'Astrea,' I considered it my first duty to inspect all other Petersburg Lodges, and to examine the manner of their working. Then to my great pain, I found that the Grand Directorial Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order,' confirmed by Your Imperial Majesty, and on which, as clearly willed by you, all other Lodges in Russia ought to depend, did not even exist. Members thereof had divided themselves in 1815, into several parties, hence, deviating from their direct and true duty. One of those parties, desirous of introducing a new system from Hamburg (the so-called Schroeder's System) met in the rooms of the Lodge 'Prince Vladimir,' and decided to abolish this chief Directorial Lodge approved by Your Imperial Majesty; another party did not attend this meeting, their intention being to allow such an abolition in order that a Scottish Directory, ruled according to French Customs, could assume authority over St. John's Lodges¹; whereas the third part of 'Prince Vladimir' members, among them the Grand Master Boeber, desired to keep up the existence of the Grand Directorial Lodge as established by Your Majesty. But corruption prevailed and triumphed over Order and due obedience: Mr. Boeber, this most estimable man, filled with a fiery love to God, truth and humanity, inspired by fidelity, and loyalty to Your Imperial Majesty and Your Throne, many a time represented all the above related to Count Viasmitinov, the acting Minister of Police,² but all his representations were of no avail; and Mr. Boeber, a Grand Master, confirmed in this rank by Your Imperial Majesty, entrusted with your confidence, was removed from his office by a self-willed party, which was then offered to Count Shuvalov (Aide de Camp and General); when Count Shuvalov declined the acceptance thereof, the office was offered to Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce (Secret Councillor). Conforming to the views of that party (see the Minutes of the 13th August, 1815) Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce addressed on the 10th August, a letter to the Seven Lodges of which the Grand Directorial Lodge then consisted, namely: 'Alexander of the Crowned Pelican,' 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' 'Peter of Truth,' 'The United Friends,' 'Palestine,' 'Isis,' and 'Neptune of Hope.' In this letter he made the following statements: (1) The period for which the rank of the Grand Master of the Grand Directorial Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order' was conferred on him, was already terminated; circumstances which prevented a new election of Grand Officers on St. John's Day, had caused at last the necessary and useful division of the said seven Lodges; finding this desire apparently general he informed the acting Minister of Police Count Viasmitinov and obtained from the latter the permission to declare to all Lodges that the Minister consents to their division into two Grand Lodges, independent of each other, that these two Lodges should enjoy equal rights in every respect, and that such should exist under its own general name, without any pretensions to each other, all this assuming the consent of Your Imperial Majesty in order to give the requisite sanction thereto; (2)

¹ This is very curious. Unfortunately, I have not been able to ascertain with certainty the leaders of this particular movement.

² It is sad that Mr. Boeber could not discover any more efficient method of dealing with a discord in his Lodge, than the Ministry of Police. No wonder he did not succeed!

from the date of the letter, the Grand Directorial Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order' must be considered as abolished and all its Grand Officers dismissed, wherefore, he, Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce, laid down the dignity of its Grand Master; (3) he invited representatives or deputies from every Lodge to meet for the purpose of establishing separately the Grand Lodges as conditionally approved by the authorities and of electing their chiefs; (4) he requested that such members of Lodges as were Grand Officers should be informed of their dismissal, and, in particular, of the abolishment of the Grand Directorial Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order'; (5) he desired all Lodges to continue to act from the moment of establishment of the New Grand Lodges in accordance with former discipline and laws, with the exception of those rules which concerned the Grand Directorial Lodge itself.

This invitation was signed by Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce on the 10th August, 1815; having put the aforesaid information before the representatives of Lodges, he himself hastened to communicate the abolishment of the Grand Directorial Lodge to every Lodge depending upon it; in testimony of which I most loyally submit enclosed his original communication of the 11th of that same August to the Lodge 'Peter' signed by his own hand. At the same time he sent a separate information to the Lodges: 'Palestine,' 'Isis' and 'Neptune' (see the aforesaid Minutes); these Lodges having already united for the establishment of a Grand Lodge, he advised them to hasten the execution of their project, in accordance with principles approved by the authorities, after which they should proceed with the election of a Grand Master, who then should enter into the same relations with the Government as formerly was the Grand Master of the seven United Lodges.

Their Principles just mentioned can be gathered from the following:—The basic Constitution of the Lodges: 'Peter of Truth,' 'Palestine,' 'Isis' and 'Neptune of Hope' united for the establishment of a Grand Lodge, consists of sixteen Paragraphs. The first paragraph states that these four Lodges joined together for the formation of the supreme Masonic Directory, the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' its chief member the Grand Master to be elected every two years by majority of voices. The eighth paragraph affirms the unchangeable rule of their Union: tolerance of all Masonic Systems so that each of the Lodges ruled by the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' or other Lodges which might join their Union at a future time, could choose for their respective work any systems they liked. The thirteenth paragraph states that the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' formed in Petersburg, represents a Society, in the strict sense of the word, to be ruled constitutionally. Copies of all rules were to be given to all Lodges of the Union. The whole was pre-arranged on the 30th July, 1815.

This basic Constitution was signed by members of the Lodges. 'Peter of Truth' (George Ellisen, Karl Ungern-Sternberg, E. Schroeder, Johann Keiser); 'Palestine' (Janash, Folbort, Bonenblust, Kwsig); 'Isis' (Risenkampf, Frederick Ungern-Sternberg, Riseman, Oom); 'Neptune of Hope' (Neiman, Toppelius, Berlovsky Weier.¹

Deputies of these four Lodges having decided that each Lodge should have four voices in the Grand Lodge, even if represented by only one member, assembled on the 13th August, 1815, at 7 o'clock p.m. in the rooms of the Lodge 'Peter of Truth,' namely, from the Lodge 'Peter of Truth,' Ellisen, Ungern-Sternberg, Schroeder, Keiser; from the Lodge 'Palestine,' Janash, Bonenblust, Kwsig; from 'Isis,' Lerch; from 'Neptune,' Weier.

They asked Ellisen to be chairman and decided: (1) To open the Grand Lodge 'Astrea' and (2) to elect the Grand Master, to which post the assembled nine brethren (having sixteen voices) chose Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce. A deputation was then sent to the Grand Master Elect. This finished the proceedings and the Minutes of the meeting were signed by Ellisen, Janash, Lerch, Weier and Schroeder (who acted as secretary).

All these doings were entirely in disagreement with Your Imperial Majesty's permission and most especially with your monarchical decree of 1814, issued on the occasion of the opening of the Lodge 'Neptune' in Kronstadt, this decree clearly confirming that all Lodges must strictly adhere to all respective regulations already

¹ Not many Russian names!

in existence. Hence, Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce acted against this Imperial decree (1) by removing from his post the Grand Master actual State Councillor Boeber who was confirmed in this rank by Your Imperial Majesty's benevolence and confidence; (2) by accepting this post for himself without Your Imperial Majesty's knowledge; (3) by abolishing the Directorial Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order'; (4) by making persistently representations and requests concerning all this to the acting Minister of Police Count Viasmitinov, who also did not have any right to abolish the Grand Lodge, and instead of allowing the new ones to be opened ought to have reported faithfully to Your Majesty (as in the case of the Lodge 'Neptune') and awaited Your gracious commands. The actions of Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce are hardly excusable especially as it was his duty to keep all Masons in obedience to true Masonic rules, and particularly to Your declared monarchical commands, in strict adherence to the laws of the Realm, in the unity of the Christian religion which is the foundation of true Masonry, in mutual love and in an unshaken subordination to the ruling Grand Directorial Lodge confirmed by Your Imperial Majesty; by a plain intimation thereof he could have brought into due order those members who have deviated from discipline and wished for innovations, and thus at the very beginning of disagreements and corruption the former unity and order could have been re-established, instead of addressing to seven Lodges the daring instruction of the 10th August, 1815, about the division of the Grand Directorial Lodge and instead of compiling new rules named 'a constitution' (a foreign invention not adaptable to our country) in place of the old ones already confirmed by the Government, over which compilation Ellisen the chief advocate and intercessor of Schroeder's System presided. Shortly, the Count's duty was not to allow the division of one directory of all Russian Lodges into two and the introduction of several systems instead of one; and not to countenance even the slightest sign of self-will directed against the established order and laws.

From all this resulted an entire breaking up of unity among brethren, two directories or two Grand Lodges having been now established. The first of them, 'Astrea,' is being guided by Schroeder's System, named "Historical Union" because it receives every kind of Masonic knowledge from everywhere, and is in communication with all foreign Lodges and Orients. This system endeavours to gather all sorts of information concerning Masonry, acts against all previously established rules, most especially against those concerned with higher degrees which more openly confess the belief in Jesus the Saviour, and strives to undermine the doctrines of pure Masonry, by transforming them into fables; consequently this is the most dangerous system, as those who follow it easily fall from Christianity into Deism, from Deism into materialism, and are at last precipitated into atheism; in order to make this aim unnoticeable, and more conveniently attained, the Union admits Lodges of all systems.¹

As to the rules of the other Grand Lodge called "Provincial" I have no knowledge. It is ruled by its particular Grand Master Count Vielgorsky, and during his absence by its Deputy Grand Master Kammerjunker² Lanskoj. In this Union there are five Lodges in St. Petersburg: 'Elizabeth of Virtue,' 'Three Luminaries,' 'Three Virtues,' 'Orpheus' and 'Oak-Valley of Fidelity,' but how many members these Lodges have, or how many other Lodges there may be in St. Petersburg belonging to this Union, I do not know, and have no means of ascertaining.

Concerning all Lodges of the Union of the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' as to how many there are, where they are situated, how many members they have, in what respective language they work, and who are their ruling masters, all this you will graciously see from a further memorandum attached to this paper; you will also perceive that Lodges are not numbered as they ought to be, but at the caprice of the ruling Master of the Lodge 'Peter,' Master Ellisen (the one who accepted and introduced Schroeder's System), so this Lodge 'Peter of Truth,' being in reality the third Lodge by antiquity, is now put at the head of the list, whereas the Lodge of 'Alexander of the Crowned Pelican,' from which the Lodge 'Peter' itself originated,

¹ One can hardly deny that this must have been an innovation of some danger to religious and political beliefs of 'Astrea's' members. There seems to be some truth in Kushelev's warnings, exaggerated as they perhaps were.

² A courtier's title.

is number six. The Lodge of the 'United Friends,' although older than the Lodge of 'Palestine,' is numbered even below the Junior Lodge of 'Michael the Elect.' A perfect self-will in everything, and nothing else!

I dare not assume a bad intention or a particular design in Count Mussin-Pushkin-Bruce's actions, and I do not see the least signs of such; but I do find that he has acted with imprudence and great weakness and has placed a superfluous confidence in some members, such as, especially Ellisen, Keiser (both physicians), Janach (jeweller), Bonenblust (tradesman), Kvosig (watchmaker), Weier (bookseller) and Lerche (now a solicitor) who was Grand Secretary and the probable compiler jointly with Ellisen, Weier and Bonenblust of the new Constitutions.¹

Yet the above innovations did not suffice for them; already on the 20th, only seven days later, they added to the said 16 paragraphs, 156 clauses; and on the 20th January, 1816, they further added 398 paragraphs confirming the whole in advance for the six following years under the name of "the Constitution" valid till the current year. Besides this they compiled the so-called "Supplement to the book of Constitution" and several further additions, confirming all by their signatures (the first addition on the 14th October, 1816; the second one on the 14th April; the third on the 21st April, 1817; and the fourth on the 24th March, 1818). On the 12th December, 1817, both the present Grand Lodges, namely, 'Astrea' and 'The Provincial,' signed an act of agreement concerning their mutual relations, containing 31 articles. From this agreement one may conclude that they will also in future compile new rules for themselves as they like. I consider it quite superfluous to argue how much such a self-will is unseemly and inadmissible, this being evident by itself. I shall only mention that all the said rules, whatever called, "Regulations," "Constitutions," "Laws," are not at all in accord with the ancient truly Masonic Landmarks. This circumstance is somewhat camouflaged by a good appearance, but in their essence the whole is nothing but a slippery path and pretext to self-willed liberties of making compacts, conspiracies, intrigues and plots among themselves instead of being a true Masonic Fraternity. In one word, all their laws are nothing else but rules for establishing complete disorder; this can be easily perceived from the following words of the first paragraph of their "Constitution":—

"Four Lodges unite to form the highest Masonic Directory under the denomination of the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' the chief member of which, the Grand Master, elected every two years, by a majority of votes, is the guarantor and representative of the said Grand Lodge and of all dependent Lodges before the Government."

But it is not the Grand Lodge 'Astrea' which directs all the United Lodges, but, speaking generally, the Grand Lodge itself is governed by them, and the Grand Master, being the chief member with one vote only, is not and cannot be ruler over the Grand Lodge; shortly, he is nothing else but a person put as the head of the Union for appearances' sake, and so that they would have an attorney and executor of their will, but not somebody in authority who would keep them within law, order and due obedience and thus be really responsible before the Government. All this is proved by clauses 40, 78 and 13; according to clause 40 they have the right to change their Grand Master not only every two years, but at any time they may think he does not suit their views, or whenever the change would be desirable to them (probably in case he would not allow them to do whatever they liked); thus the Grand Master could easily be dismissed to be cleverly displaced by such a one as would follow their designs and be agreeable to them. According to clause 78, the Grand Master is suspended or dismissed, if his absence from Petersburg continues for more than six months, and in clause 13 the Grand Lodge 'Astrea' is described as a formed company or society (with a 'constitution')² and not as a Masonic institution. Oh, how far are these constitutional innovations from the true and ancient Masonic rules! According

¹ Such were the newest leaders of Russian Freemasonry: What a change from Catharine's time when Russian statesmen and public servants of great prominence gave it the incomparable brilliancy and far-reaching significance. What wonder if Kusselev felt so bitter against them!

² 'Constitution' meant in those days nearly a revolutionary change for everybody in Russia who was a true follower of Alexander's autocratic regime.

to the exact wording of these latter, the Grand Master directs the Grand Lodge, in fact, as well as all other Lodges dependent on the Grand Lodge; every ruling Master has to report to the Grand Master everything, and is held responsible for all proceedings of his respective Lodge. The Grand Master retains his rank *ad vitam*¹ or until such time as he himself expresses the wish to retire; he chooses officials for the Grand Lodge, with the exception of the Grand Treasurer, and confirms in their rank all ruling Masters of other Lodges; these confirmed Masters choose in the same manner the officers of their respective Lodges, always except Treasurers who are elected by a general ballot among the brethren. The Grand Lodge is the highest directory and court of justice for all Lodges. All Lodges and members thereof take an obligation of being loyal to the Grand Lodge and of obeying all its regulations, orders and instructions. Ruling Masters, their deputies and wardens are members of the Grand Lodge, to represent and further the business of their respective Lodges. The commands of the Grand Master have to be received with due respect and obeyed without any delay as if they were the orders of the Grand Lodge itself. All representations, reports and requests, have to be addressed to the Grand Master, or, during his absence, to the Deputy Grand Master. These are the rules of true Masonry: They mean the deepest obedience and respect to the authority established over them.

Having joined the Grand Lodge 'Astrea,' I found it as depicted above in quite a contrary state. I summoned the first meeting on the 12th December of last year, a solemn one, to celebrate the joyous day of Your Imperial Majesty's birth, and decided that it was my first and holiest duty to remind all members of their obligation, and to demand that, together with me, they all would renew their solemn oath before the Almighty God to be unshakenly loyal and heartily faithful to Your Imperial Majesty, our most luminous Sovereign, father and God's representative on earth. This was done.²

Four days after that meeting on the 16th December I assembled the first executive meeting of the Grand Lodge. Mindful of the unpermissible deviation from Your Imperial Majesty's highest command (as described above), which was the cause of the whole disorder, I recommended that all Masters should most zealously try (1) to keep all brethren away from sinister vices and passions, from roads leading to disorder, impertinence and self-will and (2) to revert with all possible speed to the rules of the ancient true Masonry in which there are such words:—

"A true Freemason being a disciple of wisdom, must fulfil with a strict exactitude all duties prescribed to him; therefore the first obligation of a true Freemason belongs to God; the second to the Sovereign, as His representative on earth; he must honour the rulers of the Realm, love his Motherland, be a good citizen in every sense. He must be the bravest warrior, the most just judge, the mildest ruler, the most constant husband, the most loyal son, the most faithful servant, shortly, a Mason must be a true Christian, ever remembering that all constant moral duties of a general citizen are consecrated by free Masonic obligations, and that in breaking them he adds to weakness, hypocrisy and treachery. Let him everywhere confess the heavenly Law of Jesus Christ, God the Son being God the Father realised and personified in Himself. Let him never be ashamed of belonging to Christ, but may he glory only in His Holy Name and His Holy Cross. The Gospel is the basis of our duties; if he does not believe in it he is neither a Christian nor a Mason. Thus, all action of a Mason must coincide with the spirit of humility and mildness, which are the distinguishing qualities of a pupil of the Divine Wisdom."

Thirdly, I explained to the assembled Masters some of the faults and negligences to be noticed both among Brethren and among their Chiefs; at the same time I recommended all Masters of Lodges both in Petersburg and outside, to restrain themselves from correspondence and relations with foreign Orients³ and in future, unless permitted and approved by the Grand Master, to stop such relations altogether; in

¹ Kushelev's ideal was the Swedish Rite.

² Not an unwise step considering the presence of 'Decembrists' in some of the Astrean Lodges.

³ This seems to have been quite a proper step.

case of disobedience, the guilty Master should be submitted to all the severity of the regulations, and his responsibility in the matter should be shared by his Wardens, and the Secretary of his Lodge. Moreover, I did my best to convince them, that being ruling Masters, they should instruct brethren by wise lectures and keep them within law and order, not deviating from such in the slightest manner. At the same time, commending myself to their brotherly love and sincere frankness, I declared, that should their love itself visibly cool, or the least mistrust be shown towards me, I should not for one moment hesitate to leave them, as well as in the case of disobedience or carelessness in executing the laws of the Order. Finally, I did not fail to propose to all Lodges to follow closely obligations of true Masons, to wit, by giving up the work in many and different systems, which division was bringing a discord among brethren, instead of mildness, love and obedience, as commands the Christian Spirit; and by returning to the only true Masonic ancient system, which was confirmed by Your Imperial Majesty, and according to which System¹ the Grand Lodge 'Prince Vladimir of Order' and its Union worked. For this purpose, a special Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Prince Paul Gagarin² so that all Lodges could report to it, and this, before the 1st of January of the current year. I was hoping that all Masters and Brethren, feeling how much they have deviated from order and your high commands, would gladly adopt the proposed measure.

But it did not prove to be so; on the 7th of February I took cognizance of the reports made to the Committee by the representatives of different Lodges (although not signed), and some declared in them a complete acceptance of the ritual proposed by me, others only a conditional one, whereas some were against it, namely 'Peter' and 'Palestine.' I directed these reports to Prince Gagarin for due signatures and completion. At the same time I instructed him to declare to the Committee that after all Lodges have sent their agreement to work out one ritual such ritual would be submitted to all ruling Masters and members of the Committee, for the purpose of bringing its phrasing into order, and agreeing it with the spirit and laws of the Realm.³ I considered that having the benefit of Your Imperial Majesty's permission to perform the sacred Masonic work for the good of all humanity, we needed not any systems foreign to ourselves, such as the Wilhelmsbad one, or the English System (whether ancient or new) and still less Schroder's System; all those rites being inconsistent with the spirit and laws of the Russian Government; I proposed to establish a regular Masonic System, independent of all foreign rites, our own Russian System,⁴ founded on the most ancient and true Masonic Acts, in which we could glory before the whole world and so justify Your Imperial Majesty's confidence, thereby deserving public esteem by our conduct; this our conduct should lead to real benevolence, correction of corrupted morals, spreading of the live faith in Jesus Christ, true piety, unshaken fidelity and loyalty to Your Imperial Majesty and our Motherland, strict obedience to the laws of the Realm and exact fulfilment thereof.

Yet even this my last proposal did not have the desired effect, although all Lodges in their new replies agreed to accept the Swedish Rite, some unconditionally, but some with certain reservations; and in this agreement their unwillingness was to be noticed more than anything else.

This is the state, Most Gracious Sovereign, in which Masonic Lodges now exist in Petersburg: Instead of the Spirit of Christian mildness and of true Masonic rules and meekness; the spirit of self-will, turbulence and real anarchy acts through them⁵ especially in three Lodges: 'Peter,' 'Palestine,' and the 'United Friends.' Considering all this and also the fact that the establishment of two Grand Lodges,

¹ The Swedish Rite (see above).

² The family of Princes Gagarin played an important role in promoting the Swedish Rite in Russia.

³ This was what corrupted Alexander's Masonry so much; on one side, a fright and respect for the laws of the Realm as represented by the Ministry of Police; on the other side, the unavoidable reaction among Liberal and Radical members; everyone seemed to have attempted to subjugate Masonry to his political and social views with the exception of the Rosicrucians who, under such circumstances, quite rightly, worked in secret and concealment.

⁴ This, of course, might have been a natural reaction among Kushelev's adherents against the German or foreign predominance in Russian Lodges.

⁵ From what we have already seen, Kushelev was not far wrong in his assertions.

Astrea and the Provincial, is self instituted, the very existence of these Lodges should be abolished, and the one chief and ruling Grand Lodge of the 'Saint Prince Vladimir of Order' sanctioned by Your Imperial Majesty, should be re-established, in order to stop all self-will inconsistent with the method of the Russian Government. I had the intention and the wish, as previously declared to Petersburg Lodges, 'to resign the rank of the Deputy Grand Master' and to leave them altogether, but having accepted this position I dare not do it until Your Majesty's arrival and permission. To their indecisive and double-meaning answers I have not made any further movement. All this is most respectfully left to your Imperial Majesty's good Pleasure.

III.

Memorandum concerning the Grand Lodge Astrea, its officers and all Lodges under its direction, in order as determined by the Grand Lodge Astrea, with ranks, dates of establishment and domiciles, systems as respectively adopted by Lodges for their working; number of members in each Lodge and names of masters in the chair in 1821.

	Civil Rank.	Masonic Rank.	System.
In St. Petersburg the Grand Lodge Astrea, opened on the 13th August, 1815. Works in Russian, German and French Languages.			
Count Adam Stanislavovich Rgevussky	Secret Councillor, Senator and Knight of several Orders	Grand Master and honorary member of many Russian and Polish Lodges	At the beginning worked according to Schroeder's System, denominated the Old English Rite, but from 12th December, 1820, the said Grand Lodge Astrea governed by the Deputy Grand Master Kushelev,
Egor Andreevich Kushelev	Lieutenant-General Senator	The Acting Deputy Grand Master	
Friedrich Schioler	Lieutenant-General The extraordinary and plenipotentiary Minister of His Majesty the King of Prussia at the Russian Imperial Court and Knight of many Orders	Senior Grand Warden and honorary member of many Russian and foreign Lodges	works according to the true, ancient and approved (by the Government) Masonic System, the same System as was worked by the Grand Directorial Lodge of St. Prince Vladimir of Order,
Ivan Andrgekovich	Major-General and Knight of several Orders	Junior Grand Warden	
Woewel	Merchant	Grand Secretary	sanctioned by the Government and by Your Imperial command
Prince Paul Gagarin	Major-General (retired) and Knight of many Orders	Grand Orator	
Karl Ritter	Trader	Grand Treasurer	
Heinrich Wolf	Physician	Grand Director of Ceremonies	
Friedrich Kirschfeld	Protestant Clergyman in the first Corps of Cadets	Grand Almoner	

N.B.—Besides the officials the Grand Lodge is constituted of the representatives of all Lodges (see below), their Officers and of the newly invented (against Masonic rules) Honorary Grand Officers: altogether 151 in number, and they are mentioned in the Lists of the Lodges below, to which they respectively belong.

Numbers of Lodges.	Names of Lodges and Masters ; in which language they work and when established.	Civil Rank.	Ruling Lodge Member.	Number of Members.	System.
1.	<i>In St. Petersburg Peter of Truth</i> (in German; established on the 12th May, 1810). Johann Keiser	Physician Court Councillor ¹	Masters	151	Schroder's System, denominated the Old English Rite
2.	<i>Palestine</i> (in French; established on the 4th March, 1810). Roman Monen	Physician	Masters	89	Wilhelmsbad System
5.	<i>Michael the Elect</i> (in Russian; established on the 13th January, 1815). Count Fedor Petrovich Tolstoy	Lieutenant-Captain of the Navy	Masters	127	Schroeder's or the so-called Old English Rite
6.	<i>Alexander of the Crowned Pelican</i> (in German; re-opened on the 11th October, 1805). Otton Geves	Court Councillor	Masters	141	Yelaguin's System denominated the New English Rite
8.	<i>The United Friends</i> (in French; established on the 10th July, 1802). Augustin Prevo de Lumin	Major-General and Knight	Masters	109	Swedish
9.	<i>The Flaming Star</i> (in German; established on the 30th June, 1815). Baron Otto Wittenheim	Court Councillor	Masters	79	Swedish
16.	<i>Russian Eagle</i> (in Russian; established on the 12th March, 1816). Prince Paul Gagarin	Major-General (retired) and Knight of many Orders	Masters	47	The ancient Swedish System, but somewhat corrupted
20.	<i>White Eagle</i> (in Polish; established on the 24th June, 1818). Joseph Oleshkevich	Member of the Academy ² and Knight of many Orders	Masters	54	According to the Polish Grand Orient

N.B.—Thus there are under the direction of the Grand Lodge Astrea eight Lodges in St. Petersburg, and they have a membership of 797.

¹ This is a small rank of a civil servant.

² Of Arts (Painting Section).

Numbers of Lodges.	Names of Lodges and Masters ; in what language they work ; and when established.	Civil Rank.	Ruling Lodge Member.	Number of Members.	Where they are situated and what system they work.
3. (Excluded from the List)	<i>Isis or Isida</i> (in German, established at the same time as the Grand Lodge Astrea). Ivan Risenkampf. This Lodge having admitted as member a certain unworthy person by name Walter, contrary to the Grand Lodge instructions, for such an act of disobedience and for rude replies to the Grand Lodge was abolished by a decision of Masonic Court on the 12th December, 1820, and excluded from the Union. Possessed 89 Members	College Councillor	Masters	—	Reval. Schroeder's or the so-called Old English System
4.	<i>Neptune of Hope</i> (in German, established on the 12th January, 1781; re-opened on the 21st October, 1814). Alexander Golenius	Protestant Clergyman	Masters	40	Kronstadt. Swedish
7.	<i>Jordan</i> (in Russian and in French; established on the 16th May, 1812). Felix Lagorio	Vice-Consul of both Sicilies	Masters	26	Theodocia According to the French Grand Orient
10. (Excluded from the List)	A military Lodge <i>St. George the Conqueror</i> (in Russian; established on the 12th March, 1817). Roman Vinspir. This Lodge suspended work for indeterminate time	Colonel of Artillery and Knight	Masters	—	Was held at the Headquarters of the Russian Corps in Maubeuge. Old English
11.	<i>Darkness Dispersed</i> (in Polish and French; established on the 31st May, 1787). François Heinch	Physician	Masters	67	Gitomir. According to the Polish Grand Orient
12.	<i>Three Axes</i> (in German; established on the 9th May, 1778; re-opened on the 21st April, 1817). Karl Coleman	Buergermeister	Masters	53	Reval. Swedish

Numbers of Lodges.	Names of Lodges and Masters ; in what language they work ; and when established.	Civil Rank.	Ruling Lodge Member.	Number of Members.	Where they are situated and what system they work.
13.	<i>Alexander of Triple Salvation</i> (in Russian, German and French ; established on the 30th August, 1817). Ustin Luder	Court Physician Actual State-Councillor and Knight	Masters	127	Moscow. Wilhelmsbad System
14. (Existing only in name)	<i>Three Crowned Swords</i> (in German ; established in 1775 ; reopened on the 29th January, 1816). Fedor Keiserling	Kammerherr ¹	Masters	30	Mitava. Swedish
15.	<i>Key of Virtue</i> (in Russian and French ; established on the 1st March, 1818). Prince Michael Bagration	Marshal of Nobility	Masters	40	Simbirsk. Swedish
17.	<i>United Slavs</i> (in Russian and French ; established on the 12th March, 1818). Franz Harlinsky	Deputy Member of the Supreme Court	Masters	71	Kief. According to the Polish Grand Orient
18. (In name only)	<i>Love of Truth</i> (in Russian ; established on the 30th April, 1813). The sanction of the Military Governor - General, Prince Repnin, not having been obtained, it does not work				Poltava.
19. (Excluded from the List)	<i>Northern Friends</i> (was established on the 30th April, 1818, but did not long exist ; it soon closed)				St. Petersburg.
21.	<i>The Golden Ring</i> (in Polish and German ; established on the 27th July, 1818). Kasimir Dvornarovich	Former Marshal of the Sokolkovsk district	Masters	42	Bielostok. According to the Polish Grand Orient
22.	<i>Alexander of the Bee</i> (in German ; established on the 27th July, 1818). Sigmund Lieb	Manufacturer	Masters	21	Jamburg. Yelaguin's or the so-called English System

¹ A courtier's rank.

Numbers of Lodges.	Names of Lodges and Masters ; in what language they work ; and when established.	Civil Rank.	Ruling Lodge Member.	Number of Members.	Where they are situated and what system they work.
23.	<i>The Eastern Luminary</i> (in Russian ; established on the 30th August, 1818). Nikolai Gorlov	Deputy - Governor of Tomsk ; State Councillor and Knight	Masters	15	Tomsk. Schroeder's or the so-called Old English System
24.	<i>Osiris of the Flaming Star</i> (in Russian, Polish and French ; established on the 28th December, 1818). François Dimer	Physician Court Councillor	Masters	67	Kamener Podolsk. According to the Polish Grand Orient

In all Lodges altogether 607 members.

N.B.—Of the 24 Lodges one was abolished by Court ; two became dormant by themselves, and two did not work, being for unknown reasons not sanctioned by local authorities. Hence there exist now (in 1821) nineteen Lodges, and they have 1,404 members (including country-members).

IV.

Concerning those rules which in future should be followed by Russian Masonry for the greater establishment of the Christian faith in the hearts of Loyal Subjects of Your Imperial Majesty and of the unshakable safety of the Throne and Motherland.

Your Imperial Majesty could graciously perceive from my memorandums the condition of Masonic Lodges now existing in Petersburg, and that spirit of self-will by which they have broken rules established by the High Command of Your Imperial Majesty for the former chief Directorial Lodge 'Saint Prince Vladimir of Order' ; this all leads to that Anarchy which is so contrary to Your Fatherly Government of our Country, and which is nothing but misfortune for the whole of mankind. Now I take the liberty to represent in this paper the only aim of true Masonry, and those rules which should be its guidance, provided of course Your Most Gracious Sovereign will in your goodness allow Masonry to continue in Russia as before.

The Holy Church of Our Saviour Jesus Christ is ever watchfully guarding the happiness of humanity both in this transitory state and in the future eternal life, so that from the most ancient times many millions of the faithful, constantly increasing in number, have been and will be preserved in piety and virtue, as commanded by Divine precepts, far from corruption, temptations, and the noisy and vain life usually prevailing in society. For this purpose it needed the establishment among laymen of peculiar circles which could be engaged in constructing through Christian love of wisdom of a golden chain, in order to encourage each other incessantly in holy practices, active virtues and learning from God's creative actions, as displayed in the book of nature and by better knowledge of one's self through examination of of the whole creation and by realising one's nothingness to attain love, wisdom and understanding of God's majesty ; and so to arrive finally at some knowledge of the Creator who, incomprehensible in essence, Almighty and Loving, created everything and admirably established the constant harmony of nature, and to give perpetual thanks for His unlimited love, to adore and to love Him, One in Trinity, fulfilling the Word

of Life Eternal. They should encourage each other to a ready obedience to God's saving commands, to the acceptance of His Holy Will, and of the Government and authorities established by His Will, serving these latter with all one's conscience, there being no authority which does not proceed from God; further, to love one's neighbour (that is to say, every man similar to us) as oneself. This need became still greater when the pernicious teaching of atheism arose; these especial circles had to sustain among laymen the Holy faith. How could it be done otherwise? On a Feast Day a layman goes to Church, but otherwise, except his duty to the State, he is free and left to himself, or as is often the case, to the fermentation of his mind, dreams of his imagination and worldly temptations. In such hours of peril the golden beneficial chain or circle of brotherhood meets, and receives him into its arms, ever reminding him of his sacred duties, and thus keeping him from evil already approaching; it shows him the true and straight path to the only way of salvation, truth and light, by teaching order and the better use of the golden opportunities of his lifetime; the wicked will is then broken, and passions are subdued by the mind enlightened by the Holy Gospels, faith and self-improvement. That is the aim of true Freemasonry or Masonry; which has its foundation on the Corner-Stone, establishing faith and destroying unbelief. Most particularly in our days, infected by poison of freethought and rioting, does the most Holy Church require constantly such meetings or circles of private individuals where its spiritual rulers of salvation could be developed and from whence virtue, the deepest reverence to the Creator, ready obedience to Sovereigns and civil Authorities, would flow; where love to one's neighbour, a sober and peaceful life, free from corruption and temptations, could be cultivated and implanted in every heart, and all this not by means of prohibition or menaces, but by mutual help of brotherly love and enlightenment, by study of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, as containing God's Wisdom, and showing the only path to Life Eternal. These meetings or secret circles of laymen were the foundation of the original Masonic Lodges, and theirs must be the true aim of those of our days.

Yet to attain this aim, cutting down the least inclination to contrary strivings, innovations and perilous spirit of unrule, it is necessary to preserve among Russian Masonry strict unity under one Father or Chief and one Mother Lodge. The history of Masonry affords us a very convincing illustration of such necessity.

In Sweden Freemasonry is protected by the King Himself, and the King is its Father and Chief; its Mother is the one directing Lodge, ruled by one Grand Master, chosen and confirmed by the chief of Masonry, the King. From them are in direct dependence all Masonic Lodges or Meetings existant in the Swedish Kingdom. This unity presents an unshakable foundation of all the order in which the country is kept, namely, peace, welfare, morality and, in short, all Christian virtues; faith flourishes, the autocratic ruler of the country is secure, and the country itself is tranquil under such beneficial guidance.

The contrary of this we see in England¹: Its 'Modern' Lodges both in London and Scotland knowingly left the Ancient Landmarks of the Order, introduced changes, went against the York Mother-Lodge and dropped out of sight that Masonic aim for which they were permitted by the Government; they even declined to accept a Grand Master confirmed by Royal authority. This is what happens if Masonry, like that of England, is not under one authority but under many separate Directories. Then Lodges, as we see in other countries,² become clubs and afterwards nests of discord, of wilfulness and of riots; in other words, they may even become part of that tempestuous and rapid stream of hellish eruption which now inundates Europe with terrible and Godless principles perilous to all humanity. All this is very clearly

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² France and other Latin countries?

demonstrated in a book entitled *Mac-Benac*¹ (printed in Leipsic, 1819²; see more particularly pages 3-15) which also deals with the Illuminati, Schroeder's Rite and other similar systems (see pages 78-94). Besides the grievous truth of my assertions, there are surprising examples in the present European events.

Hence, it is obviously possible to compare Masonry to a sword with two sharp edges; that is to say, it can be both very useful and very harmful.³ It is of great use if Lodges are governed by a true Mason, a steadfast Christian toiler and a loyal subject, whose rule is based on the true ancient Masonic Rules; then the real aim of Masonry becomes fulfilled: vices are corrected, the corrupted become virtuous once again, those who are weak in faith are strengthened, those who are not diligent to the Holy Church become inspired with new zeal. But it may be of great harm if a Lodge is ruled by a Master who does not respect Christianity, who is an Atheist or Freethinker, who, in fact, is an anti-Mason, for he will lead all the brethren to the same path, where all good perishes and bitter fruit grows, harmful to Christian faith, to the Sovereign Himself and His whole Empire.

Now if in consideration of such dangers Your Imperial Majesty should decide to abolish Russian Masonry, then I must take the liberty to point out, as Your most loyal subject, that such an abolishment (especially a sudden, quick and strict one) will not avert all evils which may occur from corruption in Lodges. As soon as Lodges are closed, their members (brethren) will creep (like insects do) into all sorts of corners and then without having the least supervision over them, they will gradually infect those who are simple-minded, unenlightened but curious; as the police will not have any more the possibility of watching their private actions, so much easier they will tear the unwary away from Christ. Yet it is only needful to destroy some weeds, but not the plants which bring forth blessed fruits adorning both the Holy Church and the whole of humanity, as there are to be found among members of Lodges not a small number of men worthy of esteem for their high virtues and a deep knowledge of God's words and of the laws of nature; with the prohibition of Masonry they would have to stop their beneficial work leading to enlightenment and improvement of their brethren through the path of virtuousness. Considering all the said reasons, should it be the unshakable will of Your Imperial Majesty to bring into effect the closing of Masonic Lodges, it is better to do this gradually, and not suddenly. According to my opinion, it would be better not to abolish, but only to put them into proper order, this in such a manner that they never could deviate from the once established rules and become harmful; then they would be of essential use to the throne of Your Imperial Majesty and to Russia, our beloved Country. To attain this purpose it is necessary to draft for them firm and unchangeable rules which I have the presumption of presenting here:—

*True basis and rules for Masonic
Lodges in Russia.*

Two Grand Lodges now existing, 'Astrea' and 'The Provincial,' are to be abolished having dared without due authority: (1) to close the Chief Directorial Lodge of 'Prince Vladimir of Order' established by the command of Your Imperial Majesty; (2) to remove from the office of its Grand Master State Councillor Boeber who was vested with this rank because of the especial confidence bestowed on him by Your Imperial Majesty and the trust you placed in him as the person responsible in such an important matter as Masonry; (3) to destroy in this manner the unity of Masonic direction; (4) to fill Lodges with men mostly despicable, with perfect rabble⁴;

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³ Unless Masonry pursues its real aim by keeping away from politics both good and bad and following its only true path, that of self-improvement under the guidance of three principles: Brotherly Love, relief and truth. The pity of it was that so few Russian Masons of those days, if we except Rosierucians, understood real Masonic aims. Kushelev among other things obviously wanted Masonry to become the Czar's political instrument, a very laudable intention, no doubt, but how unmasonic!

⁴ This coincided with the views of many other prominent Russian Masons, and seems to be a justified assertion.

of Life Eternal. They should encourage each other to a ready obedience to God's saving commands, to the acceptance of His Holy Will, and of the Government and authorities established by His Will, serving these latter with all one's conscience, there being no authority which does not proceed from God; further, to love one's neighbour (that is to say, every man similar to us) as oneself. This need became still greater when the pernicious teaching of atheism arose; these especial circles had to sustain among laymen the Holy faith. How could it be done otherwise? On a Feast Day a layman goes to Church, but otherwise, except his duty to the State, he is free and left to himself, or as is often the case, to the fermentation of his mind, dreams of his imagination and worldly temptations. In such hours of peril the golden beneficial chain or circle of brotherhood meets, and receives him into its arms, ever reminding him of his sacred duties, and thus keeping him from evil already approaching; it shows him the true and straight path to the only way of salvation, truth and light, by teaching order and the better use of the golden opportunities of his lifetime; the wicked will is then broken, and passions are subdued by the mind enlightened by the Holy Gospels, faith and self-improvement. That is the aim of true Freemasonry or Masonry; which has its foundation on the Corner-Stone, establishing faith and destroying unbelief. Most particularly in our days, infected by poison of freethought and rioting, does the most Holy Church require constantly such meetings or circles of private individuals where its spiritual rulers of salvation could be developed and from whence virtue, the deepest reverence to the Creator, ready obedience to Sovereigns and civil Authorities, would flow; where love to one's neighbour, a sober and peaceful life, free from corruption and temptations, could be cultivated and implanted in every heart, and all this not by means of prohibition or menaces, but by mutual help of brotherly love and enlightenment, by study of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, as containing God's Wisdom, and showing the only path to Life Eternal. These meetings or secret circles of laymen were the foundation of the original Masonic Lodges, and theirs must be the true aim of those of our days.

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¹ The full title of this book is *Mac-Benac, Er lebet im Sohne oder das Positive der wahren Maurerei: Zum Gedächtniss der durch Luther wieder erkämpften evangelischen Freiheit. Leips., bei F. W. Lindner. See Puipin's Social movement, pp. 330-331.*

² Or 1818? *ib.*, pp. 330-331.

³ Unless Masonry pursues its real aim by keeping away from politics both good and bad and following its only true path, that of self-improvement under the guidance of three principles: Brotherly Love, relief and truth. The pity of it was that so few Russian Masons of those days, if we except Rosicrucians, understood real Masonic aims. Kushelev among other things obviously wanted Masonry to become the Czar's political instrument, a very laudable intention, no doubt, but how unmasonic!

⁴ This coincided with the views of many other prominent Russian Masons, and seems to be a justified assertion.

and (5), an especially important point, to tolerate and introduce several systems not sanctioned by Your High will and not compatible with the spirit of our Government. In place of the said Lodges, the Chief Directorial Lodge of 'Saint Prince Vladimir of Order' must be opened as formerly; this Lodge would be Mother of all Russian Lodges, their supreme authority and their court of justice; it would rule over them in the spirit of ancient and true Masonry, being itself governed by its Grand Master, on the following basis:—

Rules of the Chief Directorial Lodge
of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order.

§1. This Lodge, being the main authority for all Russian Lodges, strictly and constantly watches that its members and those of other Lodges subordinated to it, do unchangeably and reverently adhere and incite their co-citizens to adhere to: (1) the purity and sanctity of the Christian Religion, preserving an unshakable faith in the Creator of all and in the indivisible Trinity and demonstrating such by words and deeds; and (2) the sincere and hearty loyalty and the deepest reverence towards Your Imperial Majesty our most gracious Sovereign chosen by God Himself, Father of our country and the most august protector of the whole Russian Masonic Order. Thus they would fulfil most faithfully and fully their duty to Your Imperial Majesty, it being confirmed by a sacred obligation taken before the Almighty God, on His Holy Gospel.

§2. The Directorial Lodge must likewise take care that nowhere in the whole Russian Empire Masonic Lodges are erected without its knowledge and permission, under whatsoever denomination. Therefore:—

§3. All present Lodges of whatsoever denomination must enter the Union of the said Chief Directorial Lodge of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order, be subordinated directly to it, and act according to the rules and instructions of the Directorial Lodge confirmed by its Grand Master; otherwise they must cease to meet and will be abolished altogether.

§4. No person can establish Lodges or elect members thereof under whatsoever denomination, unless he has applied for and received a written permission so to do according to all formalities decreed by the said Chief Directorial Lodge of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order or its Grand Master, together with its rules for work. A Lodge opened according to such a warrant should be able to perform its work in security under supervision and protection of the local police, but a uniformed policeman ought not to have the right of entering a Lodge, and ought not to attempt to do so. Should such a warrant not exist, district-governors and police have to take proceedings against those who would open a Lodge or Masonic gathering without the said permission, applying in full strength Articles §§65, 124, 236, 250, and 272 of the Department of Public Security.

§5. No one can become Grand Master of the Chief Directorial Lodge who has not been either sanctioned and confirmed in this rank or selected by Your Imperial Majesty. Likewise, nobody under whatsoever pretext, can dismiss or remove him from his post without the full consent of Your Imperial Majesty.

§6. The Grand Master himself rules over the Chief Directorial Lodge of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order and over all high degrees of Russian Masonry. He is therefore responsible before Almighty God, Your Imperial Majesty, and Your Government for all actions of the Chief Directorial Lodge and of all Russian Lodges subordinated to it and entrusted to him, that is to say, for the whole of Russian Masonry; hence, all the said Lodges and their members must obey him without murmur as their Supreme Ruler; everything proceeding from the Grand Master must be accepted in the same manner as if it were commanded by the Grand Lodge itself. All reports, complaints or requests, have to be directed to the Grand Master.

§7. The Chief Directorial Lodge of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order is composed of the following members: its presiding and ruling Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master, two Grand Wardens and other usual grand officers, besides Masters in the chair of its subordinate Lodges, their deputies and Wardens, who also take part in

its meetings. The Masters and Wardens, being representatives of their respective Lodges, present, report and explain to the said Grand Lodge their needs, work, and all requirements, soliciting the Grand Lodge if so necessary for grants and instruction.

§8. All decisions of the said Lodges are to be taken by a majority of voices; but should the Grand Master not agree with any of such decisions, the same is left without effect; only those resolutions which are proposed or confirmed by the Grand Master are to be accepted without contradiction, he being the real chief of all Russian Lodges. Without the Grand Master's sanction, no business can be finally decided even by the Grand Lodge itself, nor can any decisions become effective.

§9. All Grand Officers of the Chief Directorial Lodge of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order are elected, appointed or removed from their offices or posts by the Grand Master as he wills, with the exception of the Grand Treasurer; the latter is elected by ballot in the said Grand Lodge and confirmed by the Grand Master.

§10. Masters and their deputies for all Russian Lodges, if elected to the chair by their fellow-members, must be confirmed by the Grand Master; moreover, he may directly appoint, change, and remove them at his absolute discretion. All other Lodge Officers, similarly to §9, are chosen and appointed by the ruling Masters, except the Treasurers, but it is left to the discretion of the Grand Master to confirm such choice, and his commands must be implicitly obeyed. Treasurers are elected by ballot taken among all Master-Mason members of their respective Lodges; should, however, the Grand Master deem it desirable to change any Treasurer in any Lodge, and appoint another in his place, he has the authority to do so.

§11. Masters ruling over Lodges subordinated to the Chief Directorial Lodge of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order must fully report to the Grand Master concerning everything occurring during their Lodge meetings, and they are held responsible before him, and even before the Government, both for the exactness and fullness of their reports and for the good behaviour of their Lodges and of individual members entrusted to their care; the Grand Master has to present his report concerning all occurrences to such a person as Your Imperial Majesty will graciously designate for this purpose.

§12. Should a case arise which in the Grand Master's opinion does not suffer any delay, he shall most faithfully present it to Your Imperial Majesty's decision directly.

§13. When in some district or town a desire is shown to open a Masonic Lodge and the Grand Master's permission is asked, he shall secretly inform thereof the chief Government official of the respective district requesting at the same time to be supplied with the following information:—Are those who have made the request persons worthy of esteem, well intentioned and virtuous and are they deserving of confidence from the social and Governmental point of view? In this case and in all other cases which may arise, the Grand Master communicates with the chiefs of districts and provinces by letters secretly. The latter have to satisfy immediately the Grand Master's demands, and do this also secretly.

§14. If against all expectation troubles should arise in any town or district occasioned by the existence of Masonic Lodges, or they should be conducted in a manner incompatible with Masonry, that is to say, in a vicious or pernicious or evil manner, in such a case, Government chiefs must immediately, and in secret, inform the Grand Master so that adequate measures can be taken to correct such disorders, but the existence of any Lodge cannot be jeopardized till the Grand Master's reply has been received.

§15. Those different systems which have found admittance into Lodges through self-will of some members and which have not been sanctioned by the Imperial command, from now onwards are abolished for ever and their use is strictly forbidden. In consequence of this, all Russian Lodges are obliged after the declaration of this clause to present immediately to the Grand Master their papers, and such are to be preserved under seal in the archives of the Grand Lodge.

§16. The Grand Master shall appoint a Committee for the revision, checking and correction of all changes and additions so far tolerated in Russian Lodges, so

that all corruption may be rectified according to the true ancient Masonic System and according to the Spirit of the Russian Government and usages. After the completion of its work, the Committee shall present the result (as per §§6 and 8) to the Grand Master for his perusal and approbation. Both the Chief Directorial Lodge and all its subordinated Russian Lodges, existing or to be established, must work exclusively according to such acts confirmed by the Grand Master, in agreement with the ancient true Masonic System based on the Divine Law, the Holy Gospels and on the laws of the Realm (as established in Russia). Nothing must be changed or added in future to such acts except those modifications which would not bring any real alteration but would be in strict agreement with and based upon the acts themselves. This must be particularly and severely watched and enforced by the Grand Master.

I trust, most gracious Sovereign, that these rules will keep Russian Masonic Lodges and their members in the proper ancient purity and so they will constantly help to implant and confirm in the hearts of Your Imperial Majesty's loyal subjects, instead of harmful ideas, those of Christian saving faith, unshakable fidelity to Your Imperial Majesty and love to one's neighbor, at the same time spreading real enlightenment both through private individuals and Public Schools. All bad intentioned persons (who may exist in disguise) and all the rabble now assembled in Lodges, I am sure, will have to close their Lodge Meetings as soon as such rules and aims are generally introduced, and thus will demonstrate what sort of Masonry *they* are pursuing.

To make the aforesaid rules valid for all Masonic Lodges in Russia, the confirmation of Your Imperial Majesty, our most enlightened Sovereign, is requisite; such should be given to the Chief Directorial Lodge of Saint Prince Vladimir of Order, and its strict execution should be secretly entrusted to the Grand Master whom Your Imperial Majesty shall at the same time most graciously appoint; he will keep the aforesaid rules as the most sacred covenant for the whole Masonic Order in Russia, confirmed by the Greatest of all Monarchs, Father of his Country, a reverent respector of the Holy Christian Faith and benevolent Protector of true enlightenment, proceeding from the Divine Word, its only source.

Without the said rules it will be more useful, most gracious Sovereign, to close Masonic Lodges, as from their present state and manner of acting (described by me in detail) nothing can be expected but harmful consequences, such as are discernible in other European countries, by which ancient and wise systems of government are being destroyed, monarchs' thrones are shaken, and peoples are thrown into incalculable evils.

Most Gracious Sovereign: In this my most loyal report I have fulfilled the most sacred duty of a true Christian, a loyal subject, heartily devoted to Your Imperial Majesty, and a zealous son of his Motherland: I now await with reverence and humility your high commands.

Senator and Lieutenant-General Egor Kushelev.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Telepneff, on the proposition of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, seconded by Bro. John Stokes. Comments were also offered by Bros. B. Ivanoff, C. Lobanov-Rostovsky, and Gordon P. G. Hills.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

No one who has listened to the paper we have heard to-night, still less anyone who has read it in proof, but will agree that we owe a hearty vote of thanks to Brother Telepneff for the time and the erudition that have gone to making it. As to time, I am betraying no confidence when I tell you it has been the work of two years' unremitting labour; as for erudition, I venture to say that very few present could have gone to the original sources as has Brother Telepneff.

These original sources have not been easy to find. Many of them have had to be procured from Russia, at great expense and, sometimes, at considerable risk. Perseverance and enthusiasm have conquered all these difficulties; industry and a natural genius for the use of language have completed the task of bringing us from darkness to light. Thus, to continue the metaphor, Brother Telepneff has been the conductor who has removed the bandage from our eyes and enabled us to see the form of an important branch of European Masonry. This he has done in a scholarly and thorough manner, which does not fall from the traditions of this, the Mother Lodge of Research, and, in view of a task accomplished so well, we owe him our thanks and our congratulations.

I am completely incompetent to pass any criticism on Brother Telepneff's paper. Russian is a closed book to me; so beyond the tribute of a fellow-craftsman to work well done, I might keep silence; but this essay does suggest certain reflections to me to which I may refer, for if they have not much to do with Russian Masonry they have a considerable bearing on Masonic history and research, and part of the value of an excellent paper such as this is that it sets the student's mind searching in new directions suggested by the scenery through which it has led us.

The first recollection that the phrase "Russian Masonry" summons up to my mind is the high character of one of its first Grand Masters, Field-Marshal Keith. After his death in the battle of Hochkirch, his brother and sole heir remarked: "My brother has left me a noble legacy. Last year he had the whole of Bohemia under ransom and his personal estate amounts to about £25." Such a legacy as that is one greatly to be prized by succeeding generations, and if we as English Masons can claim a share in it, as I think we shall be anxious to do, do not let us forget that Keith's greatest claim to Masonic remembrance is that he helped to spread the light in Russia, and that if that pure light had been preserved without a rival the after history of the Craft in that country might not have been so tragical.

This brings me to the second subject suggested by the paper—the attempt to make use of the Craft for political purposes, which, of course, is fundamentally contrary to one of our Ancient Charges. Not in Russia only, but in almost every other country of which we possess any Masonic records, we can find traces of attempts of this kind being made from time to time. I use the word "traces" advisedly, because, when such regrettable incidents happened, efforts seem to have been made later by the "better sort" to cover up all marks of such events. But we do find distinct indications of politics mixing with the Craft at different periods. There were possibly Jacobite intrigues in our own early Grand Lodge; Brother Crosslé thinks he has found traces of a similar trouble in Dublin at the same time; in Germany later in the century, in America later still, and in France immediately prior to the Revolution, things happened in Masonic circles that would meet with nothing but our condemnation nowadays. In this connexion I will throw out two subjects for investigation by those of our Outer Circle who are contemplating a masterpiece—the conflict between Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry in Germany in the eighth decade of the eighteenth century, which had a distinct political origin, and the Masonic connexions of the leaders of the French Revolution. Marat we know to have been an English Mason; Robespierre, we are told, was the son of a man who had formed Masonic Lodges in Arras under Prince Charles Edward; and no doubt a little reading in contemporary memoirs would indefinitely extend the list of rumour and fact. I have no wish to do so now, but I do wish to drive home one of the great lessons of Brother Telepneff's paper, that Freemasonry never can flourish in any country where it is made the tool of the politician or the ladder of the social aspirant.

Some of us will remember in Tolstoy's "Peace and War," one of the most wonderful novels ever written, and full of Masonic allusions, how Berg, the German fortune-hunter and opportunist, became a Mason, just because it was the right thing to do and all the best people were putting on aprons.

That danger is still with us to-day, and will be with us as long as our beloved Craft attracts the best and highest in the land. So it rests with us all to look to the purity of the motives of the initiates we admit into our Lodges and assure ourselves, so far as we can, that the obligation shall be taken with the heart as well as the lips.

Then this paper gives us yet another warning: the danger of the Side Degrees coming to overweigh the main stem and killing the parent tree. This matter was tactfully alluded to last year in the address of our I.P.M., and I think he managed to hint more than he cared to put into mere words. Rushing in where he did not choose to tread, I suppose a good many of us present have taken more Masonic degrees than were provided for in the Articles of Union, and there are many of these degrees which I, for one, should be sorry to abandon; but I think none of us would hesitate to abandon them, were any of the Governing Bodies which regulate these degrees to attempt any sort of opposition to the Grand Lodge, whose attitude towards them might, perhaps, be defined as one of benevolent indifference. There is a great deal of common sense in English Freemasonry, and as things are with us at present no loyal Mason need fear opposition arising within its own borders to the Grand Lodge of which we are so proud; but the paper we have just heard shows that such things have become possible in other countries, and teaches the lesson that our Masonic loyalty should belong first and all the time to the Craft degrees and to their spirit, as handed down in the Grand Lodge of England and those other Grand Lodges which she recognises.

No one here will be so rash as to prophesy when a new Grand Lodge may arise Phoenix-like in Russia, but this I can prophesy, that if at its formation there should be heard the counsels of several dear Russian friends of ours who have found in this land, which has never closed its doors against the desolated and oppressed, not only a temporary home but a permanent bond of brotherhood, if their counsels should prevail at this future date, then we shall have the joy of seeing a new Grand Lodge arise in Holy Russia, worthy of the great Masons she has already produced and worthy of many more historians such as Brother Boris Telepneff.

With that pious prophecy I beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks for his excellent and scholarly paper.

Bro. B. IVANOFF said:—

Knowing how difficult it is at present to get data about the history of Freemasonry in Russia, I admire the energy with which Bro. Telepneff has collected the vast material for his paper. Still more do I admire the skill with which he has used that material. Bro. Telepneff's work is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to the history of Russian Freemasonry, and I am looking forward to the time when it will be translated into the Russian language and read by every present and future Russian Mason, thus making him acquainted with an important epoch in the life of his predecessors and giving him a warning not to tread on the paths which brought our brothers to catastrophe in the nineteenth century and can not lead to anything else at any other time.

The picture of the Masonic movement in Russia in the nineteenth century which Bro. Telepneff gives in his paper is far from being bright. It is a picture of a grey and confused period in the history of Russian Freemasonry, especially as compared with the preceding period—that of the second half of the eighteenth century—when the Russian Masons, inspired by high ideals and sparing no personal sacrifice, undertook a great fight against the materialistic and atheistic ideas of the contemporary French philosophers which had begun to poison the Russian educated people, and which they eventually overpowered, thus saving the Russian culture from a spiritual death in its very infancy.

But however grey was the general picture of Russian Freemasonry in the nineteenth century, surely there were also some bright colours in it.

At the end of his paper Bro. Telepneff says himself: "Russian Freemasonry of Alexander's days was not healthy, and it had no real aims and no real vitality, although there were in it undoubtedly some individual members of high Masonic standing and conceptions."

I wish Bro. Telepneff had told us some more of these individual members. He says very little about the great educational work undertaken by the members of the Lodge of Michael the Elect, a work in which purely Masonic principles of piety and virtue were pursued. Still less does he say about the activities in the nineteenth century of the surviving leaders of Masonry during the previous brilliant periods; Novikof, Gamaley, Lopuhin, Pasdeeff and others. When reading Puipin's book entitled "The Social Movement in Russia under Alexander I.," to which many references are made by Bro. Telepneff, I came across some enthusiastic records of their activities during the period described in this evening's paper. According to Puipin (p. 323 *et seq.*), although these old Masons did not take a prominent part in the actual work of the Masonic Lodges of those days, their influence effected through literature and personal connections was very considerable. They worked hard, wrote very much, and guided spiritually many of the younger Masons. Gamaley was absorbed in translations of mystical books. Lopuhin conducted a vast Masonic correspondence and wrote many articles for the periodical, "The Sion's Messenger." Pasdeeff, in his correspondence, was instructing and directing Rasoumovsky, Lanskoy, Vielgorsky, Karneeff, and, having become a member of the "Biblical Society," organised in Kharkov (where he was Curator of the University) a "Biblical Comradeship of Students," the studies of which were very similar to the initial works of the former Rosicrucians. "The mystical literature of that time (of course, in most cases translated from foreign languages) was very copious," says Puipin, and he further points out the great importance of the continuous discussions by those old Masons about the "Inner religion" and their "discussions with those of the clergy who, lacking a decent education, were sticking only to the exterior side of religion" (p. 324). "And among the clergy," says Puipin, "there were many who recognised that truth was on the Masons' side."

In addition to these old Masons of the previous epoch, there were in the nineteenth century many younger Masons who had been educated and brought up under their strong influence and continued to preserve their high ideals. Among these a particularly striking figure was A. F. Labzin.

His name is mentioned in Bro. Telepneff's paper on several occasions, and I have thought that a few further particulars about this very prominent Mason of the nineteenth century which I have found in his biography, by P. Bezsonov, and in the Memoirs of M. A. Dmitrieff and of Mrs. A. E. Labzin, might be of some interest to those who have heard Bro. Telepneff's paper.

A. F. Labzin belonged to the Russian nobility. He was born in Moscow on April 28th, 1766, and from his very early childhood he showed an extraordinary capacity and interest for education. In 1776 he entered a classical school attached to the Moscow University, and in 1780 became a student of the University.

The education at the Moscow University was in those days directed by the prominent Masons, Novikoff, Heraskoff and Schwarz, and this is how Labzin described, many years after, the beneficial influence of the last-named upon himself. Writing in the columns of "The Sion's Messenger" (of which he was the editor) about the necessity of a very careful selection of books for reading, he adds: "The editor had the good fortune of being warned against reading bad books, when he was only 15 years of age, and was just beginning his studies at the University. This warning came from an enlightened man who at the very time when the writings of the modern authors were being avidly absorbed by immature minds, undertook the noble task of dispersing the growing darkness, and without any encouragement, entirely on his own initiative and in a private

house, started lectures of a new kind for all those who cared to listen to him. In these lectures he analyzed the ideas of Helvecius, Rousseau, Spinoza, La Metry and others. Comparing them with the ideas of the philosophers of opposite tendencies, and showing the difference between them, he taught how to find out the merits of each. The result was as though a new light beamed on the hearers. What a guidance this proved to minds and hearts! With feelings of deep gratitude the Editor remembers that happy time, which even to the present remains the first treasure in his life. The most striking and principal phenomenon was that a simple word of that man made so many throw away frivolous or atheistic books in which all the intelligence was believed to be concentrated, and take instead the Holy Bible which before was hardly read by anybody and despised by many."

These words refer to Schwarz only, but undoubtedly the other leading Masons of those days had also a great influence on Labzin as they were in the closest contact with the students of the University.

Labzin finished his education at the University in 1784 and entered the Government Service where he made a brilliant career. The last Government post held by him was that of Vice-President of the Imperial Academy of Arts, and during his service he received a large number of distinguished decorations.

But while carrying out his Government duties he found time to do a great Masonic work. I have not been able to trace the date of his initiation into Freemasonry, but, as mentioned by Bro. Telepneff, on the 15th January, 1800, Labzin had formed a Lodge of which he became a "Grand Master." This Lodge "Of the Dying Sphinx" soon became one of the leading Lodges in St. Petersburg and for many years carried on the ideals and the spirit of the Russian Masons of the eighteenth century and of their leaders, the Rosicrucians. Only towards the end of the official existence of Russian Freemasonry in the time of Alexander I. did this Lodge apparently become affected by the general decomposition. In any case, Mrs. A. E. Labzin, who took a great interest in her husband's Masonic work, complains very bitterly about the brethren of the Lodge, in her diary written in 1818 and 1819. She calls them Masons only in name, and accuses them of intrigues, quarrels and lack of respect and obedience to their Master.

In addition to his work in the Lodge and his direct influence on those with whom he was in personal contact, Labzin greatly contributed to the spiritual education and development of the Russian people by his numerous publications on mystical, moral and religious subjects. He personally translated and edited practically all the works of Eckartshausen and of Jung-Stilling, two notorious German mystical philosophers of those days, "The mystery of Jesus Christ's Cross" and "The Christosophia or the path to Christ," by J. Boehme; "About the Inner World," by Ambrosius Lomboese; "About the knowledge of oneself," by A. S. Fleischer; and many other works by foreign authors of the same direction of thought. Further, in order to influence larger masses of Russian people, in January, 1806, Labzin undertook the publication of the above-mentioned periodical, called "The Sion's Messenger." Most of the articles published in that paper were written by Labzin himself, and the paper propagated the highest spiritual and moral ideas; thus continuing the work of the Russian Masons of the eighteenth century.

In September, 1806, through "important circumstances outside the will of the editor," the publication of the paper was stopped, but in 1817 Labzin, following the wish of the Emperor, revived it and continued to publish it till June, 1818, when it was definitely closed owing to the intrigues on the part of the Censors.

Through modesty Labzin never signed his real name to his translations or writings. They were signed either "U.M.," which are the initial letters of Russian words meaning "Student of Wisdom," or "Theopempt Misailor," a name apparently without any particular meaning.

Though a man of a very high intellect, noble ideas, good heart and excellent education, Labzin had one serious fault; he was very quick tempered and sometimes too sharp in his expressions. And this fault was the cause of a great catastrophe in his life.

In 1822, at a meeting of the Imperial Academy of Arts, of which Labzin as already stated was the Vice-President, a question was raised as to who should be proposed to the Emperor for appointment as honorary members of the Academy on the occasion of its anniversary. Three particular friends of the Emperor were suggested by the President, one of whom—Gurieff—had nothing whatever to do with arts or sciences. And when to the question of Labzin, why such a man was suggested, the President of the Academy confessed that the only reason was that Gurieff was near to the Emperor, Labzin replied sharply and irritably: "If such is the reason I can suggest a man who is still nearer to the Emperor and that is his coachman, His Majesty visited him personally not long ago." The Emperor was informed of the incident and ordered Labzin to go to Gurieff and apologize. When Labzin flatly refused to do so, he was dismissed from the Government service and deported to a small town of the District of Simbirsk on the Volga.

With great difficulty and privation he, accompanied by his wife and his niece, arrived there in November, 1822, in a very bad state of health, having no money and not knowing anybody in the district. But his name was very popular among Masons throughout Russia. Labzin was soon surrounded by the local brethren of the Craft, who rendered him assistance and moral support in his exile. Dmitrieff, in his Memoirs, gives many instances of the touching care shown to Labzin by his admirers and new followers during that period of his life.

In May, 1823, permission was obtained for Labzin, whose health was declining rapidly, to live in the principal town of the district—Simbirsk. There he died on January 26th, 1825, being fifty-nine years of age. His body was buried in the Pokrovsk monastery, and on his gravestone the following inscription in verse was made by a fellow Mason:—

"All his life he was true to the teaching of Christ,
He lived in accordance with his faith,
And, having shown the brethren the way to the Saviour's word,
He sanctified the west of his days by suffering."

While in his exile Labzin wrote a long poem, entitled "To my wife." I wish I could translate it into English. It is a wonderful and very beautiful expression of the highest Masonic and Christian principles: submission to the will of God, piety and brotherly love to all, including enemies.

Bro. CONSTANTINE LOBANOV-ROSTOSKY said:—

I would like to add a few words to the comments just made by Bro. Ivanoff, while entirely agreeing with him as to the excellence of Bro. Telepneff's paper. This forms a true reflection and a faithful historical review of the period leading to what we must hope is only a temporary eclipse of Masonry in Russia. The period is undoubtedly a gloomy one, but it may be useful for our analysis of this period to help the historian to brighten up the picture somewhat by giving a few sidelights and a few contrasts. Bro. Ivanoff spoke of Labzin, and I would like to draw a rough sketch of another good Mason of that time—M. Nevzoroff.

Bro. Nevzoroff is the more interesting because he really belongs to two periods of Russian Masonry, his first steps having been taken during the brilliant Masonic days at the end of the eighteenth century. His attitude during the period under review by Bro. Telepneff is, therefore, characteristic of the man,

Another point of interest is that Nevzoroff was educated by Masons, and was under the guidance of Masons from his early youth. At sixteen years of age we find him holding a Masonic scholarship in the University of Moscow, where he studied law and medicine. A little later we see him working with Novikoff, the most brilliant Russian Mason of the eighteenth century, in translating philosophical and religious treatises. His real spiritual father, not only in Masonry, but in life generally, was another most prominent Mason of the time, Lopuhin. Both these names are familiar to us from the previous paper Bro. Telepneff read in this Lodge. It was at the expense of Lopuhin that Nevzoroff, together with another young Mason, Kolokolinkoff, went to Germany to perfect himself in his studies of medicine.

Nevzoroff's return to Russia coincided with the famous trial of Novikoff, his teacher and friend, by order of the Empress Catherine the II. He was arrested on suspicion, which later proved groundless, of having been during his stay abroad in touch with the leaders of the French revolutionary movement. He was imprisoned in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul, at St. Petersburg.

Nevzoroff withstood with fortitude all the questioning by the examining magistrates, and firmly refused to give any information which might lead to the revelation of Masonic secrets. His health, however, broke down under the strain, and, as at the same time no real case could be built up against him by the prosecution, this breakdown was made an excuse for removing him to an asylum in St. Petersburg.

There he remained for six years until the successor of the Empress Catherine, the Emperor Paul, caused him to be released. He then went to live with his old master, Lopuhin, in Moscow, and it was then that his Masonic life really commenced. Nevzoroff became one of the hard-working, but little heard of, propagators of Masonic ideals; his principal aim was to inculcate the Masonic principles of brotherly love, relief and truth in the youth of his time, and it was with this aim that he started in Moscow a magazine called "The Friend of Youth."

Nevzoroff was no politician, and no diplomat. In his magazine he just said what he thought in plain words, and sometimes these were too plain to help him in his worldly affairs. He had many a literary battle to fight, and it was with the greatest of energy that he defended real Masonry from the attacks which commenced then to be made against it by some of the members of the official Church, previously so benevolent to Russian Masonry.

At the same time, being a Mason of the old school of Novikoff and Lopuhin, and also a Rosicrucian, he could not countenance the direction Masonry was taking in Russia after the Napoleonic wars. On the one hand he was decidedly hostile to the political tinge most of the Lodges had acquired, and on the other he could not agree with the special type of work, as practised in the Grabianka Lodges mentioned by Bro. Telepneff in his paper. In his opinion, both these classes of Lodges led one away from social work in the Christian spirit, and this for him was the main duty of every sincere Mason.

This explains why we do not see Nevzoroff in any prominent position in Masonry during the reign of the Emperor Alexander the First. He preferred his quiet pen work of explanation of Masonic ideals and principles, such as he understood them, to political and other intrigues which, unfortunately, began to play such a prominent part in the Lodges of his time.

His magazine having come to an untimely end, owing to lack of funds, he continued, however, his work in the form of letters to such persons as he thought might be usefully influenced by them.

Nevzoroff died in 1827 in great poverty. The tombstone over his grave in one of the burial grounds of Moscow bears the simple inscription: "Here lie the remains of a lover of Truth—Maxime Nevzoroff." No other inscription could have been more suitable for such a large-hearted, sincere and good Mason, who right through his life strictly adhered, whatever happened around him, to the teachings of his old masters, Novikoff and Lopuhin.

Had there been more such Masons as Nevzoroff, the history of Russian Masonry might have been quite different, and it remains only to hope that all Russian Masons in the future will bear in mind and try to live up to the example set to them by such a true Mason as was Nevzoroff. In such case we need have no fears of the future of Masonry in Russia.

BRO. B. TELEPNEFF writes, in reply:—

I am indebted to both Bro. Ivanof and Bro. Lobanov, who have helped to brighten up the picture presented by Russian Masonry in Alexander I.'s days. A. F. Labsin was certainly a Mason of high ideals and of unquestionable zeal and sincerity. Not for a moment do I doubt that there were in Russian Lodges of the period under review other brethren of the same calibre as Labsin and perhaps of deeper insight into the true meaning of Masonic doctrines than even this enthusiastic Masonic leader or the neurotic Nevzorov. Unfortunately, neither Labsin nor other members of the Russian Craft whose individual and truly Masonic activities were admittedly beneficial to the Russian society of their days, are characteristic of Russian Masonry of that particular period as a whole. I only wish they were! Even Labsin's own Lodge, guided in accordance with the ideas of old and proved Masonic leaders, in Bro. Ivanof's words, "apparently became affected by the *general decomposition*," and Mrs. Labsin, the truthful and indefatigable helpmate of her husband in all his worldly and spiritual affairs, calls its members "Masons only in name," and accuses them of "intrigues, quarrels and lack of respect and obedience to their Master!"

The mysterious Grabianka, to whom my attention was directed by Bro. Gordon Hills, presents an interesting problem, and I hope to tackle this subject one day. Grabianka's influence on Russian Masonry was, however, not pronounced enough to justify a more lengthy consideration of his life and doctrines in this place.

Since writing my paper, I have been told that the Grand Orient of France claims to have played a considerable part in the formation of the Grand Lodge Astrea. In view of Kushelev's statement that *there was* a third party which desired the abolition of the Directorial Lodge Vladimir of Order, for the purpose of establishing "a directory ruled according to *French Customs*," any documents elucidating the activities of this "French group" would be of very great interest; possibly the Grand Orient may possess some. The Grand Lodge Astrea generally conducted a rather extensive correspondence with foreign Grand Lodges, Grand Orients and other Masonic authorities, even as far as America. Any such correspondence preserved in Masonic archives would undoubtedly be most useful for throwing light on Astrea's foreign relations.

In reply to several enquiries, I should like to say that at the date of writing this (at the end of 1925), *regular* Masonic activities of every description have ceased in Russia proper, due to the severe restrictions imposed by Bolshevik authorities. Nevertheless, the idea of a future Masonic revival in Russia seems to grow among Russians scattered abroad and the number of Russian Masons appears to be on the increase.

In conclusion, I must once again thank heartily Bro. Songhurst for the invaluable advice and help he has given and is still generously giving me in my Masonic studies and research work. I also want to thank Bro. Lepper for his kind words, which touched me deeply; praise from a writer of his merit is praise indeed.

FRIDAY, 6th MARCH, 1925.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., I.P.M.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M., as I.G.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. J. Ed. Whitty, Arthur Heiron, G. E. W. Bridge, Chas. Curd, P.A.G.D.C., F. Lace, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., W. J. Williams, B. Telepneff, A. R. Gridley, J. Toon, P.G.St.B., J. Walter Hobbs, H. Johnson, S. Y. Holland, H. C. Knowles, P.A.G.Reg., F. J. Asbury, E. W. Marson, Walter Dewes, Ed. M. Phillips, F. Howkins, Wm. C. Terry, E. Pickstone, J. G. Victor Sapp, W. H. Pocklington, F. Bare, J. F. Wilson, Sydney Hazeldine, Lieut.-Col. Cecil Powney, P.G.D., H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., Wallace E. Heaton, Clifford S. Brison, G. Derrick, J. H. Marsh, Geo. W. Bullamore, Albert D. Bowl, Wm. Lewis, Geo. P. Simpson, Geo. C. Williams, R. R. Moor, S. W. Rodgers, Ivor Grantham, G. W. South, B. Ivanoff, C. F. Sykes, K. Eckenstein, W. Hardesty, W. Brinkworth, Geo. Young, H. A. Matheson, P. Green, R. C. Foster, F. M. Atkinson, H. Franklin, A. H. Marchant, W. Stubbings and L. G. Wearing.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. J. Nolan, P.Dis.G.W., Burma; L. S. Shipton, L.R.; Harold H. Horan, Albany Lodge No. 151; A. Y. Adkins, Rainham Lodge No. 3079; Cecil J. Coade, P.M., and W. H. Spinks, Mount Moriah Lodge No. 34; C. S. Battle, Crays' Valley Lodge No. 2147; Geo. Moysey, Mary's Chapel Lodge No. 1 (S.C.); Richd. Thirsk, St. Clements Lodge, Denmark; E. M. Peters, Edward Latymer Lodge No. 3994; W. G. Jones, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661; and W. White, Earl Roberts Lodge No. 3151.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, J.D.; G. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, J.W.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; E. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; R. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lanes., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, A.G.S.B., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and John Stokes, J.G.D., S.W.

One District Grand Lodge, three Lodges and forty Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE read the following paper:—

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE THIRD DEGREE.

BY BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE.



IN a paper on "The Beehive and Freemasonry," read before the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in October, 1923, I suggested that this symbol might have descended to us from the Gild with the Third Degree. In the discussion that followed, Bro. Tuckett remarked that this view of the antiquity of the Third Degree might be developed more fully.

The point was too important to be dealt with adequately in my summing up. As I could make no authoritative statement on the subject, a discussion in which any evidence of its modernity could be brought forward seemed desirable.

I am, therefore, putting forward my ideas as to the origin and antiquity of Freemasonry. The Third Degree I interpret as the ceremony or degree of Master based on the Third Degree legend, irrespective of the number of degrees that might, or might not, have preceded it at any period.

Although the art of building in stone is of great antiquity, the word *mason* was not imported into our language until the twelfth century. During this century we have the rise of the Cistercian monks and of the Knights Templar, the introduction of the word *mason*, the development of Gothic architecture, and the introduction of a new method of dressing stone for building purposes. As to this latter feature we find that "at St. Albans the Norman work is axed, the Transitional work is chiselled."¹ Rickman gives an illustration of two adjoining arches at Canterbury. One of them is a round arch of A.D. 1110 and is ornamented with the work of the axe; the other is a pointed arch of A.D. 1180 and is ornamented with chiselled work.²

This superseding of the axe by the chisel and maul emphasizes an etymology for the word mason which has hitherto attracted but little attention. In the Imperial Dictionary it is stated that "In Spanish, *mazoneria* is masonry as if from *mazo* a mallet, *maza*, a club, a mace." To me this appears to be a very probable derivation of the word. The *macon* was the user of the mace and was thus distinguished from the free stone worker who dressed the stone with an axe. The term *mace* is not confined to the favorite weapon of the fighting bishop, for, according to the New English Dictionary a *mace* was originally a club of any kind, and in 1852 the mace is mentioned as a tool used in the currying of leather.

Gould points out that the Quatuor Coronati were *sculptors*, not *masons*, and suggests that they were the nearest to builders that could be found.³ I think the justification for their use as patron saints was that they were users of the mace and chisel, and, therefore, *masons*.

In the twelfth century skilled work of this kind must have been almost monopolised by the Church and was, therefore, free from Gild control. Possibly it was free from local control by special Papal sanction, although no documentary evidence has yet been found which supports the tradition to that effect. If the new class of stone dressers, the masons who used the chisel, were at first employed entirely in church building, mason and free mason would be synonymous terms.

In favour of the etymology of the Imperial Dictionary the word mason has always carried the suggestion of cutting or hewing. "Both Solomon the

¹ F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 23.

² T. Rickman, F.S.A., *Styles of Architecture*, p. 105.

³ *History of Freemasonry*, i., p. 483.

mason and Hiram the mason cut them" (the stones) is a translation of a twelfth century paraphrase of the Old Testament.¹ In 1526 we get "The free mason setteth his prentyse first long time to lerne to hewe stones."² Coverdale, in 1550, thus uses it: "The free mason hewyth the harde stones, and heweth of, here one pece, and there another, tyll the stones be fytt and apte for the place where he wyll laye them. Euen so God the heavenly free mason, buildeth a christen churche and he frameth and polysheth us, which are the costly and precyous stones."³

I think that in this last quotation we have it implied also that the free mason is a church builder, thus making the analogy between a material and a spiritual church.

Some of the early free masons were workers in marble. The arms of the marblers were:—"Sable, a chevron between two chissels in Chief, and a mallet in Base, Argent."⁴ To the present day a marble mason suggests a carver of marble rather than a builder in that material.

We have a good illustration of the use of the word "speculation" as equivalent to theory preserved in the register of the parish of Wenlock, in Shropshire, kept by Thomas Botelar, the vicar:—

"1546 May 26 buried out of tow tenements in Marfold Street, near St. Owen's Well, Sir William Corvehill, priest of the service of our Lady in this church &c. He was well skilled in Geometry, not by speculation, but by experience; could make organs, clocks, and chimes; in kerving in Masonry, and silk weaving and painting, and could make all instruments of music, and was a very patient and gud man, borne in this borowe, and sometime monk in the monastery."⁵

Papworth makes the following statement on certain terms used for workers in stone:—

"*Cementarius* is naturally the earliest 1077 and is the term most constantly used . . . During the fourteenth century *lathomus* is constantly found and it would appear to be applied as often to the mason who was to execute cut work as to the mason who was required for rough work or to labour in the quarry."⁶

With the coming of the chisel, Gothic architecture arose. One use of the new instrument was for decoration, and "what was simply painted in the tenth and eleventh centuries began to be carved stone in the eleventh and twelfth."⁷ Of the cushion capital Prior says:—

"The Benedictine use had painted its face with runic and Byzantine detail; and the chisel, when it came, carved such elaborations, as in the Canterbury crypt."⁸

He also speaks of sculpture being "applied to every surface in indiscriminate enrichment," and continues:—

"To Cistercian austerity, however, this license of architectural sumptuousness was abhorrent. As they rejected the bell tower from their churches as the symbol of earthly sway, so they refused sculpture as savouring of earthly luxury. But here again, art found its life from its conditions, its energy was turned inwards upon construction, and the power of sculpture, denied to surface, grew into the bones and sinews of Cistercian building. No longer relying on

¹ Vibert, *Story of the Craft*, p. 6.

² *N.E.D.*

³ Quoted by Gould, ii., p. 154.

⁴ Gould, ii., p. 146.

⁵ G. S. Tyack, *A Book about Bells*, p. 19.

⁶ Gould, i., p. 307.

⁷ E. S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art*, p. 129.

⁸ Prior, p. 142.

gorgeous robing for its distinction, architecture learned to stand in its own nude beauty, or draped itself like a Grecian statue in the clinging vesture that expressed the sculpture of its form. Decoration came back to it as the accent of construction, the emphasis of structural intention: in the last quarter of the twelfth century the purest and best Gothic architecture stands in the simplicity of shaft and moulded arch: decorative carving is confined to capitals, to a corbel here or a vault boss there.”¹

“For the Cistercian order alone there were founded in England during the last three quarters of the twelfth century over 100 houses, and for each a considerable church was rapidly built, abreast of anything in Europe in the freedom of its Gothic creativeness. But these being only abbey churches, the dissolution worked their complete destruction.”²

This destruction was due to the fact that the Cistercian abbeys were built far from the haunts of man, and could not, therefore, be utilised as churches by the ordinary population at the dissolution. Rievaulx, founded in 1131, was built in “an unclaimed, wild waste and inhospitable district.”³ Some idea of the sites utilised by the Cistercians may be gathered from the following description of the founding of Fountains in Yorkshire. Thurstan, the Archbishop of York, granted the site in 1132

“to certain monks who had separated themselves from what they deemed the lax discipline of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, in York, and resolved to adopt the Cistercian rule, which was then becoming famous from the reputed sanctity and daring enthusiasm of St. Bernard. Richard the Prior, with the sub-Prior, ten monks of St. Marys and Robert a monk of Whitby, retired in the depth of winter to this secluded, and at that period, wild and uncultivated dell, where their territory was defined by the Archbishop, who had previously maintained them in his house. At first, their only shelter was under the impending rocks; but after a while they thatched an enclosure under an umbrageous elm in the middle of the valley, which was even flourishing at the dissolution of the Abbey. Some yew-trees, also near the ruin, are traditionally said to have sheltered these enthusiastic men.”⁴

The effect of the Cistercians on the standardisation of the building of Gothic is thus summed up by Prior:—

“Conclaves of the order, meeting year by year, brought the abbots of all the houses together, and as in the statutes, so in the plans of Cistercian building, is found a uniformity which marks them all over Europe.

For all religious bodies in England, too, the English method of land tenure would tend in the direction of a wide dissemination of general building methods. The custom of the Norman Conqueror was to split up large estates instead of allowing them to be concentrated. So landowners, and convents as such, would hold manors all over England, where buildings would be erected by them. And still more the habit of putting smaller religious houses under the dominion of the larger must have continually interchanged the heads and members of these establishments. Such ‘cells,’ as they were called, were often in parts of England distant from the ‘mother’ house, and indeed many an English priory was dependent on abbeys

¹ Prior, p. 127.

² Prior, p. 31.

³ *Chartulary of Rievaulx* (Surtees Socy.), p. xlix.

⁴ J. R. Walbran, F.S.A., *Guide to Ripon*.

in France. Then, too, the assignment of parish church advowsons to religious houses, often in distant places, might have been expected to bring about a constant mingling of church-building ideas to the effacement of local usage.

Yet despite these influences tending to amalgamation of county with county, the north with the south, and the east with the west, it can be shown that during the last half of the twelfth century the architectural style of Gothic art developed itself as provincial in three or four distinct areas. In the laying out of plan and arrangement no doubt each religious order had, at first at any rate, a distinct usage which it would carry out all over England and pass on to its colonies; but constructive detail seems to come undictated from headquarters. The early Cistercian buildings of Ford, Buildwas, and Fountains have no peculiar uniformity of mason-craft. Working communities as the Cistercians were, whose first labour was their church-building, each convent seems to have gone to school with the local mason.

Nor, on the other hand, did the Benedictine abbeys pass on their building notions to their dependants, or the Augustinian houses to their connections. The style of Tynemouth Abbey has no relation with anything at St. Albans, but is the early Gothic of the Augustinian Hexham and Lanercost; that which appears at Coldingham and Jedburgh, though the first was a dependent of the Benedictine, Durham, and the second had got its canons from Beauvais. Plan and ritual, it seems, could be carried, but architecture in the twelfth century was in each district an endemic growth, which, securely established, crushed out any interloper.

In the birth of a native architecture geological facts provide the basis of distinctions which are at once the most local and the most enduring. A natural building-craft must take its sustenance from the materials of stone, brick or wood, which came most readily to its hand, and of necessity interprets and accentuates the peculiarities of its station. Gothic architecture in England developed itself in stone shaping; its parent Romanesque had come as an imported art, and at first essayed to bring with it the Caen stone, as it did its Caen masons. But this was bringing 'coals to Newcastle.' England was a country of varied stones, free to work and easy to wall, and soon in the plenitude of Norman building each district varied its mason-craft by practice in its own free-stone."¹

In the discussion of the English church-plan we read:—

"It is clear that in both the western and southern dioceses of England, there was, in the first half of the twelfth century, a bishop-influence that joined hands with the old Saxon traditions of the square-ended sanctuary. In alliances with Cistercian and Augustinian reformation, it rejected Benedictine conformity, and, as will be seen, adopted new ideas of building design, as well as of plan, that rapidly after 1150 pressed forward into the expression of Gothic art, while in the east Benedictine Romanesque held its ground."

Prior then points out that

"in connection with the prominent position that Stephen Harding held in the first councils of the order (Cistercian) it is significant that he is recorded to have come from the very west country where we have traced the thread of national tradition surviving the Norman intrusion, and where the seeds of another art, that was to supplant Benedictine Romanesque, were already sown."²

¹ Prior, p. 153.

² Prior, p. 70.

In decorative design Romanesque tradition

"was, by the twelfth century, indistinguishably mingling two strands of Byzantine motive—one that had come by way of the north from Viking irruption, and one from the south through Mediterranean commerce; Second was that fresher thread, also of an eastern art of decoration, that seems so strangely to have trailed back in the wake of the returning Crusaders, bringing to Western Europe the forms of Roman Syrian art of the fifth and sixth centuries¹ . . . Religious fervour was, as it were, warm to take the impression of the Romano-Greek ornamentation, which it saw in the holy cities of Syria, so that, hardening to work in Augustinian and Cistercian building, it expressed crusading reminiscences of the Holy Land on the stone of Welsh valley or Yorkshire moor.

At any rate, it is strange that so much of the building method of the fifth—and sixth—century Syrians should appear suddenly in the awakening imagination of our twelfth-century builders. Syria seems to have given the hint for not a few of the variations of our English bell-caps. Indeed, the transformation of the Roman Corinthian capital, under the stress of constructive purpose, had been carried so far there, that its final step in Gothic hands was insignificant."²

Let us now review the position. From a study of the remains of Gothic art, Prior arrives at the conclusion that its main features were developed by the masons who built the churches for the Cistercians. These masons preserved a Saxon tradition of building which survived the Norman irruption. He also notes that decoration shows signs of a Syrian tradition.

There is also a tradition that the Freemasons were the authors and builders of Gothic architecture, and we find that the Freemasons in the Old Charges preserved an account of their Saxon origin in the days of King Athelstan. Further, a special feature of Gothic architecture is the use of mould stones for arch and pillar, window and vault-rib. These same Charges show that the making of mould stones was a speciality or a monopoly of the Freemasons, the art of which they jealously preserved as a trade secret. Injunctions as to secrecy in the making of mould stones are given in these Old Charges, and I quote two examples. The first is from the senior of the *Colne MSS.*:—

"fiftently also that no mason or felow make any mould square or pille to any layer nor let any layer within lodge nor without to lay moulde stones."³

The second is from the *Col. Clerke MS.*:—

"And also that no master nor fellow make no Mould nor Square nor Rule to no Layer nor Sett no Layer within the Lodge to hew mould Stones."⁴

We get the information that the Cowans, layers, or losses, when employed were to be set to work with a line, *i.e.*, at plain wall building. Mould stones were the province of the Freemasons.

The first Lodges were said to have been dedicated to St. John, were due East and West because all Holy Temples were so situated, and were first held "on the Highest Hill or Lowest Valley of the World without the crow of a Cock or the bark of a Dogg." Sometimes we are told that they were held far from the "Dwelling" or "Babbling" or "Cackling" (Prattling) of a Woman.⁵

¹ Prior, p. 136.

² Prior, p. 140.

³ *A.Q.C.* xxxiv., p. 65.

⁴ Conder, p. 217.

⁵ J. E. S. Tuckett, *Masonic Record*, vol. i., p. 285.

We get here a very apt description of the sites chosen by the Cistercians for their abbeys. In such a wilderness a very proper dedication of a Lodge would be to St. John the Baptist, the dweller in the wilderness.

As to the Orientation of the Lodge, I think this arose from necessity, the explanation being supplied after the erection of the Lodge. The best light for a studio at the present day is that from a northern sky on account of the absence of shadows, and a lodge for the carving of stone was probably a long shed running East and West and open to the North.

The Cistercians were the first monks to encourage art craftsmen to live in the monastic buildings.¹ When this occurred the speculative meetings would probably be held in the chapter house, a chamber about twice as long as broad and running parallel to the nave of the church, so here again the Lodge would be situated East and West.

The legends of the Freemasons relating as they do to King Solomon's Temple may well have come to us by the same road as that craft which "expressed crusading reminiscences of the Holy Land on the stone of Welsh valley or Yorkshire moor."²

When we consider the enormous number of churches and religious houses erected in the twelfth century it is easy to understand that, for a time, at any rate, the trained craftsmen of the chisel and maul were able to spend practically the whole of their time and energies in the preparation of stone for ecclesiastical buildings, and in the more technical work, while the men of the gavel would find ample employment with the plumb and line, in secular building work, and in the quarries preparing the rough ashlar. With the broadening of the meaning of the word *Mason* so that it became the equivalent of *lathomus* we should get the craft dividing itself into the Masons who were hewers and the Masons who were layers and setters. We are thus able to understand the dispute among the London Masons of A.D. 1356, when we learn that "divers dissensions and disputes had been moved in the said city between the masons who were hewers and the masons who were setters and layers, because their trade had not been regulated in due manner by the government of folk of their trade in such form as other trades were."

In order to ascertain how the trade might be best ordered and ruled for the profit of the common people, six of the most skilful men of each type of worker were chosen to advise the Mayor and Aldermen, and a number of articles were drawn up which provided that "every man of the trade may work at any work touching the trade, if he be perfectly skilful and knowing in the same."

Other questions, such as rates of pay, the taking of apprentices, and the method of punishing offenders were also dealt with.³

The record of this dispute shows that in 1356 there were two sodalities in the City of London doing exactly the same mason work and who were referred to in this instance as mason hewers and mason layers. In 1396 we get a reference to free masons and layers (*lathomos vocatos free maçons, lathomos vocatos ligiers*).⁴

I think it highly probable that the layers were the secular craftsmen who preceded the Freemasons and were established as a Gild in London, the term *Mason* being applied to them with the broadening of its meaning. Their chief implements would be the gavel or cutting axe and the trowel. The recognition of the equal rights of the Freemasons must have materially affected their Gild.

In 1537, the year following the suppression of the lesser monasteries, the Gild became the Company of Freemasons.⁵ In merging into the Gild I believe that they accepted the layers into the fellowship, and that this is the origin of the accepted Masons.

¹ Purdon Clark, *A.Q.C.* vi., p. 104.

² Prior.

³ E. Conder, *Hole Craft & Fellowship of Masonry*, p. 63.

⁴ *A.Q.C.* x., p. 29.

⁵ Conder, p. 104.

That the Freemasons were originally Mark Masons divided into masters and fellows does not, in my opinion, admit of doubt. The distinction was made according to skill, and in the *Cooke MS.* we read:—

“and so at such congregations they that be made masters should be examined of the articles afterwritten, and be ransacked whether they be able and cunning . . . and moreover they should receive their charge.”¹

It is my opinion that this masters' charge carried with it the masters' secrets which differentiated them from the fellows. The master builder originally became such by skill. That skill became handicapped by lack of money and influence at a later date is very probable, for in such an industry the established masters would be jealous of their privileges and grant them sparingly. By adding the accepted Masons to the masters and fellows we get the three classes which correspond to the “Masters, Fellowes and Brethren of Free Masons” mentioned in the title to the seventeenth century *Hope MS.*² and to the “Masons, fellows or fremasons,” mentioned in the apprentice charge of the *York No. 4.*³

With the suppression of the religious houses and the subsequent confiscation of the property of the Provincial Gilds the London Company of Freemasons would be the headquarters of Freemasonry, while the Provincial Lodges would tend to die out or to maintain their vitality by the admission of “speculatives” or non-operative members. As these admissions appear to have been accompanied by a supper at the charge of the newly initiated, such social gatherings would convert the Provincial Masonic Lodges into convivial clubs. In the eighteenth century, provincial Masonry is often a record of alternate founding and lapsing of Lodges, and it is likely that the secrets were transmitted in some such fashion in the provincial towns in the preceding century.

In 1655 the Company again changed its name and became the Company of Masons.⁴ Possibly the Freemason ceremonies were abandoned owing to Puritan influence, and with them the name of Freemason. But for business purposes the “accepted” Masons ceremony may have been revised prior to this date. On St. John's Day, 1764, the Lodge of Melrose agreed that “the mason word be administered in a Simpel way and maner free of everything Sinfull and superstitious, only Word Signn and Grip and some simpel questions to distinguish a mason from a nother man.”⁵ Something of the sort I believe to have taken place in London at an earlier date. Thus revised it would be possible for the Gild to retain the ceremony.

It is interesting to note that there is an Irish tradition that Oliver Cromwell was the founder of the Freemasons.⁶ In 1654, the year in which the Freemasons ceased to be the London Gild, Oliver Cromwell came to London, was received by the City Companies, and obtained £150,000 from them in order to proceed to Ireland.⁷

Shortly after the restoration of K. Charles II. the Great Fire of 1666 necessitated the rebuilding of London. This led to the passing of a statute in 1667 by which it was ordained:

“That all Carpenters, Bricklayers, Masons, Plaisterers, Joyners, and other Artificers, Workemen and Labourers, to be employed on the said Buildings (in the City of London) who are not Freemen of the said Citty, shall for the space of seaven yeares next ensuing, and for soe long time after as untill the said buildings shall be fully finished, have and enjoy such and the same liberty of workeing and

¹ *A.Q.C.* xi., p. 50.

² Gould, i., p. 67.

³ Gould, i., p. 88.

⁴ Conder, p. 173.

⁵ *A.Q.C.* vi., p. 72.

⁶ *A.Q.C.* xxi., p. 194.

⁷ Conder, p. 173.

being sett to worke in the said building as the Freemen of the Citty of the same Trades and Professions have and ought to enjoy, Any Usage or Custome of the Citty to the contraary notwithstanding: And that such Artificers as aforesaid, which for the space of seaven yeares shall have wrought in the rebuilding of the Citty in their respective Arts, shall from and after the said seaven yeares have and enjoy the same Liberty to worke as Freemen of the said Citty for and dureing their naturall lives. Provided always, that said Artificers claiming such priviledges shall be lyeable to undergo all such offices, and to pay and perform such Dutyes in reference to the Service and Government of the Citty as Freemen of the Citty of their respective Arts and Trades are lyeable to undergoe, pay, and performe."¹

This statute no doubt caused an influx of Masons, and as such Masons were liable for quarterage to the Company I suggest that they were organised as accepted Masons. The Company's only interest would be the collection of the quarterage, and the ceremony may have been cut down to the minimum. But the workmen themselves would represent a Conservative element, and at convivial evening meetings they would be inclined to retain as many of the older features and ceremonies as were known to them. Some of the copies of the Old Charges are entitled the Charges of the Accepted Masons, and the Lodge at St. Paul's Cathedral, according to Aubrey, was a Lodge of Accepted Masons.

The Old Charges seem to have played the part of a warrant without which no Lodge was held. All the known copies have descended from one original, although transmitted by several channels, and my view is that each permanent Lodge possessed a copy of the Old Charges on which Masons were admitted to membership. When a master undertook work away from the permanent Lodge he provided himself with a copy of the Charges and was then able to admit fellows, making his report at the assembly or when the work was finished. The scarcity of copies after the Reformation, to which Bro. Rosedale calls attention,² might thus be accounted for as partly due to the lack of building, while the Great Fire of London would be one reason for their multiplication during the last half of the seventeenth century, although, no doubt, the development of the purely speculative side was also a factor.

In St. Andrew's Lodge No. 218, instituted in 1809, brethren could be appointed Depute Masters with power apparently to initiate members—making reports half-yearly to Lodge.

The true meaning of the York G.L. meetings at Scarborough and Bradford³ I believe to be that York followed the ancient custom and that these meetings were deputy Lodges whose proceedings were communicated to Grand Lodge and entered in their records. The actual copy of the Old Charges used at Scarborough and containing a list of those present at the Lodge is still in existence.

The Lodge at Warrington, at which Ashmole was received into Freemasonry,⁴ was probably a deputy Lodge also, but whether authorised by a permanent Lodge in that part of the country or by receipt of a copy of the Old Charges from London it is not possible to say. The Warden, Mr. Richard Penket, may have been the Warden of the local division, but the fact that Ashmole was summoned to Masons Hall at a later date shows that the name had been transmitted to London. Unfortunately, the copy of the Old Charges that was made by Mr. Edward Sankey has not been identified by the authorities on Old Charges as a copy of any other manuscript, but is placed as the head of a family. It has been suggested that this copy was the one used at the

¹ Gould, iii., p. 147.

² A.Q.C. xxxiii., p. 9.

³ A.Q.C. i., p. 12.

⁴ Gould, iii., p. 140.

reception of Ashmole, but, assuming that Mr. Edward Sankey was living at home at Warrington, it is evident that there was another copy, possibly in the care of Mr. Richard Penket, a relative of Sankey. As a copy made for antiquarian purposes the Sankey MS. might easily give rise to a family and it is possible that, as six or seven Freemasons could form a Lodge and confer the secrets, some Freemasons possessed themselves of private copies.

If the country was divided up with a head Lodge in each division it is possible to understand how one such Lodge by its system of deputy Lodges could maintain its authority in the old days over a wide tract of country. The various distances mentioned in the Old Charges when giving instructions as to attendance at the general assembly might then be interpreted as referring to different divisions of the country. Bro. Vibert, speaking of Freemasonry in Scotland, says: "The Lodge of Edinburgh has actual Minutes from 1598. In this same year we read of three Head Lodges of which Edinburgh is the senior, Kilwinning the second, and Stirling the third. Each used to constitute Lodges and they indeed, at times, invaded each other's jurisdiction."¹ Such, I imagine, was the original system in England; a few head Lodges, and these could constitute deputy Lodges usually of a temporary nature.

I have already stated that, in my opinion, the "Masons, fellows or freemasons" of the apprentice Charge are the accepted Masons, Mark fellows and Master builders. These three classes would meet in separate Lodges. The accepted Masons or layers probably had secrets resembling the Mark apprentice, or, at any rate, less than the Mark fellow, while the Freemason would have, in addition to the secrets of the fellow, a knowledge of the master builder's part. There would be no regular advance from accepted Mason or layer to Mark mason or hewer and then from hewer to master. The Master's Lodge could no doubt confer the secrets of all three degrees, and in this sense might be considered to work the three degrees, but the evidence of the Old Charges favours the view that the apprentice when he had finished his time either became a fellow or else a master on account of his exceptional abilities. Possibly a fellow could qualify as master under some circumstances. The layers were accepted at a later date, and as they were not entitled to the full secrets of the fellow, would make another degree. Our present ceremonies, I believe, have originated from these three types of Lodges, and traces of this origin are still to be found.

There are facts which suggest that distinct types of Lodges have amalgamated to form our present ceremonies. The struggle between the Antients and the Moderns was on matters far too great to have been produced by a few minor alterations in the ritual. The tradition of the Antients, which I assume to have been genuine, was much the fuller with the Master Mason as the unit, and included the Mark, Royal Arch, and Knight Templar Degrees. The tradition of the Moderns was meagre, being originally based on the apprentice (probably the layer) with power to confer the degree of Master or Fellow at Grand Lodge. The Antients had Deacons, which were at first unknown to the Moderns. The Antients had a Tyler, while the Moderns were without this officer or else had a guarder. In the one case the emblem of authority in the Lodge was the maul, the working tool of a mason; in the other it was the gavel, or steel cutting axe of the layer. The following statement was made in 1766:—"Among the Antients they use a prayer; but the Moderns omit it."²

Bro. Dring states his opinion in "The Evolution of the Tracing Board" that the Antients placed the actual emblems on the floor of the Lodge while the moderns drew them in chalk.³ This difference is easy to understand if the former derived their methods from the permanent Lodges of Masters, while the latter were merely carrying on the traditions of journeymen layers temporarily employed at a building.

¹ *Story of the Craft*, p. 56.

² *Hiram*.

³ *A.Q.C.* xxix.

After the London Company of Masons had obtained their Charter from K. Charles II. in 1677 they insisted that workmen who were not free of the Company should either come on the freedom or be enrolled as apprentices.¹ Possibly the accepted Mason was originally accepted by means of an amended apprenticeship ceremony, and the O.R. XIII. of Anderson was actually founded on the practice of Masons Hall.

In trying to connect together into an intelligible whole a number of facts which are otherwise meaningless I have endeavoured to look upon Freemasonry as having been eminently practical. If the first Lodges of St. John the Baptist were held in the wilderness for the purpose of building the early Cistercian Abbeys, it is probable that some of the better informed monks undertook to teach the local workmen who formed these Lodges what they could of arithmetic and geometry. This would form the speculative Lodge, and it must be remembered that owing to improved methods and the invention of various arithmetical signs we now perform quite easily calculations that were serious problems in those days.

But in addition to education, recreation was desirable, and while part of the time might have been given to the "moralising" of working methods and tools, the repetition of a trade catechism would be a valuable method of ensuring recognition at other Lodges of St. John when it was necessary to travel to other work. The question and answer or riddle is a very old form of entertainment, and as to the symbolism, these Lodges were started at a time when symbolism was rampant. When Innocent III. sent four rings and divers jewels to King John he accompanied them by a letter pointing out that: "The rotundity signifies eternity . . . The number four which is a square number denotes firmness of mind which is neither depressed in adversity nor elated in prosperity; which will then be fulfilled when it is based on the four principle virtues viz:—justice, fortitude, prudence and temperance. Moreover the greenness of the emerald denotes faith, the clearness of the sapphire, hope; the redness of the pomegranate denotes charity; and the purity of the topaz, good works."² At a later date Durandus speaks of the church as a building "with brethren for stones. The circular staircases which wind among the walls, imitated from Solomon's Temple, point out the hidden knowledge of those who ascend to celestial things."³ The wonder is not that we inherit symbolism, but it would have been a wonder had our early brethren escaped it.

As to the symbols used in Masonry, they readily divide into two groups: (a) The implements, etc., directly associated with the Craft, and (b) emblems which have no direct connection with operative Masonry. It is this latter group which I suggest has come to us from the pre-Masonic builders who possessed some form of gild derived from the Romans. In such a gild vestiges of Mithra or any other mystery might well have lingered on. When the Masons arose, or combined with the gild, the symbols became incorporated.

We learn from Pausanias that bees built the second temple of Apollo at Delphi,⁴ the pentagon was sacred to Apollo,⁵ and the sprig of acacia of present-day Masonry is quite like the laurel branch of Apollo and is certainly unlike the acacia of Palestine. Connected with the laurel branch were other symbols. The following passage is from the *Golden Bough*:—

"It has been conjectured that in ancient days the persons who wore the wreath of laurel or oak at the octennial festival of Delphi and Thebes were no other than the priestly Kings who personated the god, slew their predecessors in the guise of dragons and reigned for a time in their stead. . . . In the laurel-bearing festival, immediately in front of the laurel-bearer walked a youth who carried in his hands a staff of olive-wood draped with laurels and flowers.

¹ Conder, p. 201.

² A.Q.C. vi.

³ A.Q.C. x., 50.

⁴ Bk. Xth, v., post. 9.

⁵ C. W. King, *The Gnostics & their Remains*, p. 192.

To the top of the staff was fastened a bronze globe with smaller globes hung from it; to the middle of the staff was attached a globe of medium size and three hundred and sixtyfive purple ribbands, while the lower part of the staff was swathed in a saffron pall. The largest globe, we are told, signified the sun, the smaller the moon, and smallest the stars, and the purple ribbands stood for the course of the year being equal in number to the days comprised in it. . . . We may conjecture that the procession of the laurel-bearing was preceded by a dramatic performance of the slaying of the dragon." ¹

As a symbol of divine protection the laurel branch survived into Christian times, for Clement of Alexandria, writing about A.D. 200, finds the warning necessary that "one must not hope to obtain reconciliation with God by means of laurel branches adorned with red and white ribbons." ²

Thus we have the laurel, sun, moon, stars, bees and the pentagon associated with the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, while in Freemasonry we have all these emblems associated with the Temple of Solomon. That they came to us from a Pagan source and were continued by Christians to inculcate by symbol and allegory a system of morality is far easier to believe than that they were an innovation of the eighteenth century. It was easier to use them than to do away with them, just as the early Church sometimes found it easier to sanctify an object sacred in Pagan eyes than to turn aside the veneration in which such an object was held. Documentary evidence is unobtainable, but the persistence of tradition is ample explanation for the survival of our symbols. Owing to the fact that practically every Mason must have learnt his craft from a preceding Mason we have an unbroken Masonic tradition back to the Temple at Delphi, the Temple of Solomon or any other temple of antiquity.

I have mentioned the survival of the tradition of higher degrees among the Antients. There can be no doubt that Masons who were hewers were originally Mark Masons:—

"The operative mason put a personal mark on every stone he cut, and this custom was familiar in the Scotch Lodges where all the brethren, whether masons by trade or not, had marks assigned to them which are found in the minute books. We may surmise that in operative days the mark was not selected or conferred without some sort of formality, conducted in open Lodge." ³

An instance of the survival of tradition among workmen in the building trade is given by Grant Allen. Towards the end of the nineteenth century at the building of a house at Hind Head "a workman fell from a beam and was killed. The other workmen declared that this was *luck* for the house and would ensure its stability." ⁴

This belief that a death during its construction ensures the stability of a building has come down to us from prehistoric times, and is met with in all parts of the world. The true explanation of the superstition I believe to be that given by Frazer: "In order that the angry ghost may haunt the place and guard it against the intrusion of enemies." ⁵ But it is also interpreted as an offering to the local gods or to the demons of the soil. Speth ⁶ deals very fully with customs arising from the belief. The following quotation is from Tylor:—

"There is current in Scotland the belief that the Picts, to whom local legend attributes buildings of prehistoric antiquity, bathed their

¹ *The Dying God*, p. 86.

² J. H. Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 36.

³ Vibert, *Story of the Craft*, p. 80.

⁴ *Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 98.

⁵ *Taboo*, p. 90.

⁶ *Builders' Rites*.

foundation stones with human blood; and legend even tells us that St. Columba found it necessary to bury St. Oran alive beneath the foundations of his monastery, in order to propitiate the spirits of the soil who demolished by night what was built during the day. So late as 1843 in Germany when a new bridge was built at Halle, a notion was abroad among the people that a child was wanted to build into the foundation. These ideas of church or wall or bridge wanting human blood or an immortal victim to make the foundation steadfast, are not only widespread in European folklore, but local chronicle or tradition asserts them as a matter of historical fact in district after district. Thus when the broken dam of the Nogat had to be repaired in 1463, the peasants, on the advice to throw in a living man are said to have made a beggar drunk and buried him there. Thuringian legend declares that to make the castle of Liebenstein fast and impregnable, a child was bought for hard money of its mother and walled in . . . Italian legend tells of the bridge of Arta, that fell in and fell in till they walled in the master-builder's wife, and she spoke her dying curse that the bridge should tremble like a flower-stalk henceforth. The Slavonic chiefs founding Detinez, according to old heathen custom, sent out men to take the first boy they met and bury him in the foundation . . . As is usual in the history of sacrifice, we hear of substitutes for such victims; empty coffins walled up in Germany, a lamb walled in under the altar in Denmark to make the church stand fast and the churchyard in like manner handselled by burying a live horse first. In Modern Greece an evident relic of the idea survives in the superstition that the first passer-by after a foundation stone is laid will die within the year, wherefore the masons will compromise the debt by killing a lamb or a black cock on the stone . . . If now we look to less cultured countries we shall find the rite carried on in our own day with a distinctly religious purpose, either to propitiate the earth-spirits with a victim, or to convert the soul of the victim himself into a protecting demon.

In Africa, in Galam, a boy and girl used to be buried alive before the great gate of the city to make it impregnable, a practice once executed on a large scale by a Bambarra tyrant; while in Great Bassam and Yarriba such sacrifices were usual at the foundation of a house or village. In Polynesia, Ellis heard of the custom, instanced by the fact that the central pillar of one of the temples at Maeva was planted upon the body of a human victim. In Borneo, among the Milanau Dayaks, at the erection of the largest house a deep hole was dug to receive the first post, which was then suspended over it; a slave girl was placed in the excavation; at a signal the lashings were cut, and the enormous timber descended, crushing the girl to death, a sacrifice to the spirits. St. John saw a milder form of the rite performed, when the chief of the Quop Dayaks set up a flagstaff near his house, a chicken being thrown in to be crushed by the descending pole. More cultured nations of Southern Asia have carried on into modern ages the rite of the foundation sacrifice. A 17th century account of Japan mentions the belief there that a wall laid on the body of a willing human victim would be secure from accident; accordingly, when a great wall was to be built, some wretched slave would offer himself as foundation, lying down in the trench to be crushed by the heavy stones lowered upon him. When the gate of the new city of Tavoy, in Tenasserim, was built, perhaps twenty years ago, Mason was told by an eye-witness that a criminal was put in each post-hole to become a protecting demon. Thus it appears that such stories as that of the human victims buried for spirit-watchers under the gates of Mandalay, of the queen who was

drowned in a Birmese reservoir to make the dyke safe, of the hero whose divided body was buried under the fortress of Thatung to make it impregnable, are the records, whether in historical or mythical form of the actual customs of the land. Within our own dominion, when Rajah Sala Byne was building the fort of Sialkot in the Punjab, the foundations of the south-east bastion gave way so repeatedly that he had recourse to a soothsayer, who assured him that it would never stand until the blood of an only son was shed there, wherefore the only son of a widow was sacrificed. It is thus plain that hideous rites, of which Europe has scarcely kept up more than a dim memory, have held fast their ancient practice and meaning in Africa, Polynesia and Asia, among races who represent in grade, if not in chronology, earlier stages of civilisation.”¹

Speth is of opinion that there were two victims, one at the foundation and the other at the completion of the building. With this latter sacrifice Speth identifies the various legends concerning the murder of apprentices by their masters. The apprentice pillar at Roslin, the author of which is rumoured to have been slain by his jealous master, is one such instance, and parallel stories of a similar nature occur in the history of art:—

“In the same century that the Prince of Orkney founded the chapel at Roslin, the good people of Stendal employed an architect of repute to build them one new gate, and entrusted the erection of a second to his principal pupil. In this case too the aspiring youth proved the better craftsman, and paid the same penalty; the spot whereon he fell beneath the master’s hammer being marked to this day by a stone commemorating the event: and the story goes that yet, upon moonlight nights the ghost of the murdered youth may be seen contemplating the work that brought him to an untimely end, while a weird skeleton beats with a hammer at the stone he wrought into beauty.

Another stone at Grosmoringen, close by Stendal, tells where an assistant bell caster was stabbed by his master because he succeeded in casting a bell after the latter had failed in the attempt. It is a tradition at Rouen that the two rose windows of its cathedral were the work of the master architect and his pupil, who strove which of the two should produce the finer window. Again the man beat the master, and again the master murdered the man for his triumph. The transept window of Lincoln Cathedral was the product of a similar contest, but in this instance the defeated artist killed himself instead of his successful rival.”²

The death of the master is sometimes recorded traditionally as due to the desire on the part of the ruler to prevent him from building another such masterpiece. The ruler thus ensures that the completed building shall be without a rival. The architect of St. Basil’s Cathedral at Moscow is rumoured to have been slain by the local authorities for this reason.

In the Irish legend of the Gobhan Saor we are told that the Gobhan Saor and his son built a palace for Balar Beimann. While they were still on the top of the building, “Take away the the scaffolding” (said he), for he wanted to let them die on the top of the building. The Gobhan Saor and his son, however, threw down stones from the top of the building until the scaffolding was restored. Being detained by Balar Beimann, the Gobhan Saor contrived to send home for a special tool by this King’s son. His wife detained the prince as hostage, and so secured the release of the builders. According

¹ *Primitive Culture*, i., p. 104.

² C. C. Bombaugh, *Gleanings for the Curious*, p. 689.

to the legend, the Gobhan Saor was eventually barbarously murdered by twelve highwaymen with twelve journeymen.¹

King Solomon's Temple has not escaped, for, according to the Rabbinical legend, "while all the workmen were killed in order that they should not build another temple devoted to idolatry, Hiram himself was raised to Heaven like Enoch."²

Solomon's ring with the pentalpha engraved upon it was sent to him by the archangel Michael, according to the Testament of Solomon, in answer to Solomon's prayers concerning the demons who were interfering with the building of the temple. By means of the ring they were compelled to assist in the work. Before this ring was obtained the child of the chief deviser was a victim of one of these demons, and on being interrogated by King Solomon the child said:

"After we are all released from our work on the temple of God, after sunset, when I lie down to rest, one of the evil demons comes and takes away from me the half of my pay and half of my food. Then he also takes hold of my right hand and sucks my thumb. And lo, my soul is oppressed and so my body waxes thinner every day."³

This legend probably originated long after the building of the temple, but the non-observance of a foundation sacrifice would be sufficient to explain to the superstitious workmen all mishaps and mischances that occurred to themselves or the building as the vengeance taken by the local spirits deprived of their rightful offering.

According to Flinders Petrie the foundation sacrifice did not occur among the Egyptians. Speaking of a foundation victim that had been discovered he says:—

"This burial or child sacrifice was a custom in Syria known both by record and by recent discoveries of Mr. McAlister. The custom was succeeded by that of the burial of a burning lamp, the flame of which was extinguished instead of extinguishing the life. But such a custom has never been found among the Egyptians and here we must rather look to a Syrian occupation as the cause of this earliest fortification."⁴

Maspero, in *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, says:—

"Images are buried beneath the stones of the threshold so as to bar the entrance of all destructive spirits. Invocations are given upon these figures."⁵

Bonomi suggests that these images used at Nineveh to protect the threshold are the teraphim.⁶

Bearing in mind some of the temple legends that have come down to us it appears to me very probable that the substitute for a sacrifice at King Solomon's Temple was a talisman consisting of some form of the Ineffable Name, possibly on a plate of gold, together with some portion of the sacred law. The idea is made use of in the Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen where it is suggested that Julian the Apostate being desirous of proving the Saviour's prophecy concerning the temple to be false arranged to rebuild the temple. When clearing the site the workmen broke through into a vault or cavern partly filled with water. In the centre was a pillar, and on the pillar a scroll, which on removal proved to be the Gospel according to St. John. The action of Julian, therefore,

¹ *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1833-4, pp. 8, 112.

² *Jewish Ency.*, Art. Freemasonry.

³ *A.Q.C.* xiv., 173.

⁴ *Hyksos*, p. 29.

⁵ p. 14.

⁶ *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 156.

instead of disproving anything, produced an additional witness to the truth.¹ The anecdote is so obviously given to make a case against Julian that the only part about it that seems at all certain is that such substitutions occurred and were sometimes found in clearing old foundations.

A curious substitute is that of Naples. An egg, although not life itself, contains life. Legend records that Naples is built on an egg.

The opinion of Speth that there were two sacrifices, one at the beginning and the other at the completion of the structure, agrees with what we are told of the rebuilding of Jericho in the reign of Ahab:—

“In his days did Hiel the Beth-elite build Jericho; he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub.”²

However, there seems to be no hard and fast line between the two sacrifices, and in some instances the number was far exceeded. In folklore a clear distinction is not always made between threshold, foundation, hearth, or corner stone. The identification of the threshold with the hearth has been explained by the suggestion that when man was a cave dweller the fire was at the entrance to the cave, so that the threshold and the hearth were synonymous terms.

We get some references to threshold observances in the Old Testament: “Therefore neither the priests of Dagon, nor any that come into Dagon’s house, tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod unto this day.”³ We also read: “In that day will I punish all those that leap over the threshold.”⁴ In connection with the Temple of Solomon we read of “Keepers of the door,” but the marginal note shows that they were keepers of the threshold.⁵ Possibly, in addition to the collection of money, their duty was to see that threshold observances were not violated.

We owe much to those brethren who have endeavoured to purge the history of Freemasonry of many assertions put forward as facts on slight grounds or on no evidence whatever. But the ground having been cleared we are met with the difficulty that Freemasonry has always been secretly and orally transmitted, and for that reason there can be little or no documentary evidence. It is only possible, therefore, to investigate by such methods as give good results in natural science or in folk-lore. All the available material can be arranged to form an hypothesis; a working hypothesis which will serve as a test for additional facts as they become known. Imagination must fill the gaps, and the new facts either fit the hypothesis or the latter must be altered to admit them. It is the principle of piecing together an incomplete jig-saw puzzle. With but a small number of the total quantity of pieces nearly any arrangement is possible, and there is nothing to show that these pieces are rightly or wrongly placed. But as more pieces come to hand the outline of the picture becomes discernable, and as it grows towards completion only one possible arrangement can be made. Such an hypothesis is a necessity to myself, as facts do not become evidence until they can be related to other facts. My present hypothesis admits of political, Puritan, Reformation, monkish, foreign and heathen threads in English Freemasonry without admitting that it is other than an English operative Institution. With the heathen symbols, heathen signs and ceremonies may have been received, for man is more imitative than inventive. The bridging of the gaps caused by the missing pieces will vary according to the individual, and the truth can only be ascertained by the discovery of facts throwing light on the matter. Personally, I find it much easier to believe or imagine that the freedom from control of the Masons, which

¹ Behn’s *Ecc. Library*.

² I. Kings, xvi., 34.

³ I. Sam., v., 5.

⁴ Jer., xxxv., 4; Jer., lii., 24; II. Kings, xxv., 18.

⁵ Zeph., i., 9 (R.V.).

enabled them to challenge and eventually to take over the London Gild or sodality of builders, was conferred by the Pope than that Anthony Sayer was ever hailed as Grand Master in 1717 unless it was in burlesque.

Sir J. G. Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*, says that "in historical enquiries Imagination must always supply the cement that binds together the broken fragments of tradition." My cordial thanks are due to the W.M., Secretary, and Brethren of the Lodge and to the G.L. Librarian for the help that they have so freely given in my collecting of the broken fragments. But I accept full responsibility for the cement which I have so freely used. Should the structure crumble under a bombardment of solid facts I shall gain additional material for a new construction. I do not claim that my theory or any part of it is the only possible solution, but it represents the present state of my knowledge and finds a use for a certain amount of derelict material. My desire is chiefly to learn, not to teach, and it is in order that I may benefit from the free discussion of these ideas that I have put them before the brethren of the Quatuor Coronati to-night.

A vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Bullamore for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, seconded by Bro. Lionel Vibert.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

I confess I hardly know how to inaugurate a discussion on this paper.

Brother Bullamore has put a double charge of industry and energy into his fowling-piece, has loaded it up to the muzzle with interesting facts, and then, pointing it to the stars, has pressed both triggers. If the sky does not proceed to rain down larks, we must at least go over the ground carefully to see if there be not something to add to the bag.

With a great deal of Bro. Bullamore's paper, criticism has nothing to do. He has specialized in "possiblys," "probablys," "may-have-beens" and "assuming-thats." In one short paragraph I have noted seven of such phrases, each introducing a new line of speculation extending upwards from the somewhat nebulous and insecure foundation of its immediate predecessor. While hypothesis of this kind often serves a useful end, it is hard to discuss: its advantage, of course, lies in the suggestion of new paths for research; its dangers are obvious, that some people may accept as sober truths much that is merely the baseless fabric of a vision. Accepting Bro. Bullamore's projection for what it is, tentative, experimental, provocative perhaps, I feel grateful to him for all the thought he has given to the subject; but I shall confine my own remarks to his definite statements. Some of these cannot be allowed to stand the test of the square.

The first statement against which I enter a caveat is not one for which the essayist should be blamed. He says there is an Irish tradition that Oliver Cromwell was the founder of Freemasonry. This will not hold water. It took its rise in the fertile imagination of Crofton Croker, who, when compiling his "Popular Songs of Ireland," got hold of a modern convivial ballad written about the year 1827 and supplied notes to suit the text. The poet had wished to drag in a reference to "riding the goat," and said of Cromwell "because he was a Freemason he mounted his battering ram." There are many traditions and memories of Cromwell left in Ireland, but if any can be found connecting his name with Freemasonry prior to the publication of Croker's book in the early forties of the last century, I shall be very much surprised.

My next objection is to the passage where the essayist, quoting Bro. Rosedale, remarks upon the scarcity of copies of the Old Charges made after the Reformation. I have not taken the trouble to look up Bro. Poole's book

on the matter, because, speaking from memory, I think I am right in asserting that the vast majority of the copies of the rolls which we possess were all made after the year 1540, and could wish it were the other way round.

Then we come to the paragraph concerning the Lodge at Warrington into which Ashmole was received, and here, I think, Bro. Bullamore has let his hypotheses run so wild that we are not justified in concluding anything. I cannot believe that at that early date any one Lodge maintained an authority over a wide stretch of country. A Lodge in those days, I think, must have been a purely local or personal affair, and I am confident that no such thing as exclusive jurisdiction was ever heard of until the year 1814.

Passing on to the tradition of the Antients which Bro. Bullamore considers contained the Mark, Royal Arch and Knight Templar degrees; meaning, I presume, that these existed as speculative entities in the body of Freemasonry from the earliest days of speculative Masonry. Here, I think, he has run his head up against hard facts. The first we hear of the Mark is in 1769 in a modern Lodge. In Ireland, the heart of the Antient system, it was not officially heard of till 1845, and as late as 1870 certain outlying Chapters in Ireland had difficulty in finding a Brother able to confer it. On the other hand, it is true that the R.A. degree has existed in Ireland from a very early time. I have just heard of two new references to it in Minute Books, referring to the years 1745 and 1752: but all through the eighteenth century the Grand Lodge of Ireland refused to countenance the Royal Arch degree in any way—I need hardly say that this formed an extraordinary variation from the practice of the Antients in England—nor have I yet found the key to the riddle. The fact remains, that the Grand Lodge of Ireland never recognised the Arch as an official part of their ceremonies, and to this day Royal Arch insignia may not be worn in an Irish Craft Lodge. I am unable to accept the theory, therefore, that the Royal Arch formed an integral part of the Antient Masonic tradition.

The case for the Knight Templar degree is even worse. Dermott chose to state definitely that Fethard in Co. Tipperary was the first place where the degree was conferred. Now Dermott was usually right in statements he made from his own knowledge, and as Fethard about the time he wrote was much occupied by soldiers who had served on the Continent, the name of this garrison town gives us a hint of how the degree may have come into Ireland. Coming to extant evidence from documents, the year 1765 is the very earliest yet discoverable for its appearance in Ireland; while in 1779 some Dublin brethren actually obtained a Scotch warrant for the purpose of practising the Knight Templar degree, apparently not thinking it legal to work that degree under their Irish one.

My last objection is this: I do not understand Bro. Bullamore's strange statement that the Moderns never had a tyler, which must have crept into his paper by an inadvertence.

I have now said enough to justify my terror of having those conclusions accepted as axioms which are based merely on postulates, and shall gladly refer to those portions of the paper on which he is deservedly to be congratulated. The materials which Bro. Bullamore has brought together in reference to the foundation deposit are extremely suggestive. I have no doubt that Bro. Vibert will have something to say about this part, so my remarks will be brief. Bro. Bullamore has raised the whole question of what is the symbolism of the Third Degree, and if he had done no more than that I think he would deserve our thanks. But he has done much more than that: he has evidently devoted long hours to studying original authorities in quest of fresh information, and he has now come forward inviting criticism on the conclusions those facts suggest to him. The spirit in which his labours have been undertaken merits nothing but our approval, and I have much pleasure in proposing that a hearty vote of thanks be given to him for his enthusiasm and services in the cause of Masonic research.

Bro. H. POOLE writes:—

I have read Bro. Bullamore's paper with great interest, and must congratulate him on the amount of material he has put together, without making the paper too long to allow of the discussion which I feel sure it will provoke.

In such a 'constructive' paper as this, there must be much that can only be settled when many others have covered the same ground, and more evidence has been fitted into its place in Bro. Bullamore's theory. But there seems to me to be one point, and an important one, on which he can be shown to be fundamentally wrong—the meaning of the term 'accepted Mason.' If my memory is not at fault—and I have not the reference library I would like—in London, at any rate, in the seventeenth century—and this is the earliest use of the term—the accepted Mason was the *non-operative* admitted to the Company; and I fancy Plot—who would be speaking of the provincial use of the term—uses it in the same sense. As the acception was open (though, apparently, not necessary) to the operative fellow, I have always suspected that it was to the acception that we must look for a *higher* (or 3rd) degree, if such existed; but if Bro. Bullamore is right, then the non-operative accepted Mason only got what the operative member of the Company already had: and this, I think, is hardly a possible conclusion from the evidence.

I very much doubt if the Freemasons ever 'accepted' the Town Gilds in London or elsewhere, in any ordinary sense of the word. It seems to me far more likely that after the Reformation they were absorbed into them, in twos and threes; bringing with them, no doubt, their esoteric tenets and practices (whatever they were), and certainly their skill, which is reflected in the great advance in *domestic* architecture in the Elizabethan age. I suggest that it would be more correct to say that the Town Gilds, or secular Masons, accepted the Freemasons than the reverse; and this is compatible with the view that the acception was a higher status than that of Apprentice and Fellow—though I would not like to suggest that this was the origin of the term.

As to the phrase 'Masons, fellows or freemasons,' in the Apprentice Charge, it is unfortunate that we are not certain what was the original form. The *Tho. Carmick* MS., which I consider substantially a senior form to the *Hope* or *York* 4, says only 'Masters or fellows.' But it should be noticed that the only *additional* category mentioned is that of Freemasons; Masons and Fellows, as well as Apprentices and Masters, being mentioned in the body of the text of most of the MSS. As this text seems to have been more or less fixed a century or so before the first appearance of the Apprentice Charge, and probably little, if at all, later than the Reformation, this seems to preclude the possibility that 'Mason' meant 'accepted Mason'—for there was then, on Bro. Bullamore's theory, no such thing. I might add that the majority of the Old Charges make no distinction between Master and Fellow, except in such phrases as 'that the Master shall pay his fellows'; and indicate that the Master was merely a fellow who happened to be in charge of a work. The same set of charges seems to have done duty for both.

I think these points are worth emphasizing, because Bro. Bullamore seems to me to be looking in the wrong direction for the Third Degree, though I do not criticise his attempt to trace it through the operative period to Cistercian influence. I am willing to believe that the Third Degree, as he defines it, was carried by the operatives from an early date down to 1717; but not, at any rate as a peculiar possession, by the 'Masters' of the Old Charges.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

I am sorry that unavoidable circumstances will deprive me of the pleasure of listening to Bro. Bullamore's paper—the proof sheets of which I have read with care and interest. I wish I could feel that he has augmented our knowledge in regard to the antiquity of the Degree: either as a third Grade

among Mediæval operatives, or as a secret bond of union practised exclusively by Masons who were "Masters of the work." The latter is, I fancy, the view to which Bro. Bullamore himself inclines; but his extensive survey of isolated facts does not seem to cement them into an intelligible hypothesis. None the less, we shall, I feel sure, be grateful to him for marshalling the facts before us for frank discussion.

In that same spirit, not in carping criticism, do I venture to offer a few comments. I am not sure that I follow Bro. Bullamore's meaning when he says "the Freemasons were the authors and builders of Gothic architecture." He adduces Prof. Prior's conclusion that the main features of Gothic architecture were developed by *the Masons who built the churches for the Cistercians* (italics mine). But surely they were not exclusively so. In the early part of the twelfth century the strictness and simplicity of the new monastic order from Cîteaux made it exceedingly popular, and in England its new abbeys sprang up rapidly. Thus, after Waverley had been begun in 1129 Tintern and Rievaulx followed in 1131 and Fountains in the next year. Being thus contemporaneous in erection it is not strange that they should be designed on a uniform plan, and possess peculiarities of style. But the only way in which their builders could have been a distinct sodality—distinct, that is, from other minster-builders elsewhere at the same period (who also built to good Gothic principles)—would be by the Cistercians being their own architects and their *fratres conversi* their own carvers; a novel hypothesis, which hardly seems compatible with our evidence for the engagement of members of a close tectonic gild or fraternity.

Nor can I agree to Bro. Bullamore's contention (though it seems a detail extraneous to his argument) that their temporary wooden sheds to be used as workshops were likely to have been put up on the *north* side of where the church was to be erected. Obviously, they had no glazed windows or skylights, and I cannot believe that operative Masons would practically deprive themselves of sunlight for years, unless perchance constrained by exigencies of the site; besides which the ground north of a Cistercian abbey was (in some instances, at any rate) the monastic cemetery—therefore, undisturbed by noise of mallet and chisel.

Bro. Bullamore is, however, on safer ground in contending that even before 1356 the "free-masons" regarded as inferiors both the *cementarii*, who shaped with gavels the rough ashlar (in the quarries?), and the *lathomii vocati ligiers*, who were settlers and layers of plain wall-stones. Possibly, as he says, those "maçons" may occasionally have received craftsmen of one or both categories into their Lodges as "accepted" members, just as they did ecclesiastics and perhaps others who were not tectonic operatives by ordinary avocation, and in that case the same formalities would be used. But I fail to see any reason for supposing that when such cases occurred "speculative Lodges" were held in the monastery chapter-house, even if we grant that such an apartment was already in use whilst the minster was only in process of erection—a postulate which seems dubious.

His collectanea concerning the perennially persistent superstition about stability being ensured by human sacrifices is singularly instructive, especially to those Brethren who have not access to Dr. Trumbull's volume, *The Threshold Covenant*; but here again I fail to see that any explanation is thereby furnished for the genesis of our Hiramite Tradition, and his association of the Masonic sprig of acacia with the laurel of Apollo at Delphi is certainly quite untenable.

Still, Bro. Bullamore's paper is a valuable contribution to our records, and I offer to him my cordial congratulations and thanks.

BRO. GILBERT W. DAYNES writes as follows:—

I am glad to have had the opportunity of reading Bro. Bullamore's paper, and regret I cannot be present at the discussion which will follow. I was, however, a little disappointed that not more had been brought forward,

concerning the Third Degree as we now know it, and the antiquity of the Hiram Legend. The suggested derivation of the word "Mason" is certainly ingenious; but, whatever may have been the original meaning of that word, it seems clear, from its subsequent use, that it soon included the free-stone worker, and Freemason, a term applied not only to Church builders, but also to some of the Gild Masons.

If I understand Bro. Bullamore correctly, he seeks to establish three classes of Masons during the days of mediæval operative Masonry—accepted Masons, Mark fellows and Master builders—each with separate Lodges, with separate secrets and a separate degree. With regard to the accepted Masons, he further formulates the opinion that they were layers who had been accepted into the Fellowship of the London Company of Masons, from 1537 onwards. This opinion seems to me to be open to considerable criticism, and for several reasons.

In 1356 we are told that there was a dispute "between the Masons who were hewers and the Masons who were setters and layers," and Bro. Bullamore considers that the records show that, in that year, there were two Sodalities in the City of London doing exactly the same mason work. Now were there really two distinct trade organisations at that date? The regulations made by the Court of Aldermen on that occasion refer to "the trade of Masons," and the preamble, after stating that the Mayor had "caused all the good folk of the said trade to be summoned before him," goes on to state, "whereupon the good folk of the said trade chose from among themselves twelve of the most skilful men of their trade," etc. The names of these representatives are given, being, six "on behalf of the Mason hewers" (or free-stone Masons), and six "on behalf of the layers or setters" (or Rough Masons). The Mason hewers are given precedence in the document, and some of their representatives were Master Masons of considerable importance. Thomas de Gloucester was the King's Chief Master Mason, at Westminster, at that date, and Henry Yevele became Master Mason to Edward III., Richard II. and Henry IV. Neither from the Preamble, nor from the Regulations made, can it be deduced that there were two separate organisations of Masons, nor that the Regulations directed any amalgamation of two independent gilds.

Prior to this date there must have been an organised Gild of Masons in London. Bro. Conder considers that the Company of Masons was founded early in the thirteenth century (*Hole Craft*, p. 56). The dispute may have arisen in consequence of the Company of Masons having refused to admit the layers and setters into the Fellowship, and consequently placing restrictions on their work, &c. Reading between the lines, it seems to me that the Mayor of London ordered the Masons Company, or Gild, to admit the layer and setter, so that he might "work at any work touching the trade, if he be perfectly skilful and knowing in the same." But, on the other hand, Overseers were to be appointed, to see "that no one of the trade takes work to complete if he does not well and perfectly know how to perform such work." Regulations were also enacted to ensure that all work undertaken was properly carried out. "The Trade" is always referred to in the singular, and the Regulations deal rather with one Gild, and a dispute between different classes in the trade, than with two independent Sodalities, or Gilds, quarreling as to the control of the trade.

In the City Records there is a List of the London Companies, who, in 1376, sent representatives to the Court of Common Council. The Masons Company is included, having first been entered in error as "freemasons." From this error we may assume that Masons were often termed Freemasons, perhaps because the Company or Gild was, prior to 1356, comprised entirely of Mason hewers or free-stone Masons, a term subsequently contracted on some occasions to Freemason, as we know from the reference to Freemasons and layers under date 1396, quoted by Bro. Bullamore. There was no Company of Layers or Setters referred to in the List of 1376.

In the well-known Statute of 3 Henry VI. cap. 1 (1425) reference is made to "the yearly congregations and confederacies made by the Masons in their

general Chapters assembled." No reference is made to different classes of Masons, and I think we may presume that only one type of Gild or Company of Masons was known to the Government of that day.

However, to put matters beyond doubt, we have the Regulations of the Company of Masons, which were approved by the Court of Aldermen, in London, on the 15th October, 1481. These Regulations refer to "the Art or Mystery of Masons of the City of London." It is worthy of note that the word "Freemason" was not used, although it is to be found frequently in fifteenth century documents; and this permits of the assumption that all classes of Masons were to be regulated by the London Company of Masons, in accordance with those Regulations or Ordinances. Amongst the Regulations so approved we find one stating that no one is to be admitted to the freedom of the Craft by the Wardens until examined and found "connyng" therein.

I think Bro. Bullamore is too precise in stating that the Gild became the Company of Freemasons in 1537, because it is so termed in a Corporation document of that date. Either the Gild was known unofficially as the Company of Freemasons, or members of the Gild were termed Freemasons, as far back as 1376, and it would, therefore, seem more correct to say that the Gild became known as the Company of Freemasons at some date not later than 1537. Why the London Company of Masons then became known as the Company of Freemasons has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained; but I cannot think that it was because the Church Masons, who were termed Freemasons, came into the Gild or Company on the suppression of the Monasteries. That many of these Church Masons came into the Town Gilds or Companies cannot be denied; but it can hardly be supposed that the Church Masons, who joined the London Company of Masons, could, within a year or so, have gained such complete control of that Company as to be able to change its name. Besides the term "Freemason" was, long before 1537, given to many Masons who were members of different Gilds of Masons all over England. In 1432, John Marwe was termed a Freemason, in a Contract between himself and the City of Norwich, for the building of a New Quay in that City, and many other instances could be quoted.

Bro. Bullamore contends that the Layers were accepted into the Fellowship of the Masons Company on or after 1537, then controlled by the Church Masons, and that this was the origin of the accepted Mason. Later on he contends that those Masons, who came into London, in considerable numbers, in consequence of the Great Fire of 1666, and the Statute of 18 & 19 Car. II. c. 8, which placed strangers on an equality with freemen of the City, were organised as accepted Masons. Neither of these contentions appears to me to be sound. With regard to the former, if my interpretation of the Regulations of 1356 and 1481 is correct, layers and setters, who could carry out properly the science of Masonry, and were proved "connyng" therein, had already become entitled to take up the freedom of the Craft. They were certainly not likely to have had this privilege extended to them after 1537, when the Company of Masons was being, if not flooded, at any rate largely augmented by the Church Mason. Competition would have been too keen for such generosity without statutory compulsion. Besides, we must remember that the Old Charges of the Church Masons drew a very clear distinction between the Mason and the layer or setter. Bro. Bullamore has himself pointed this out. With regard to his latter contention, I do not think that Bro. Bullamore has given sufficient weight to the evidence we possess as to accepted Masons, evidence dating back to 1619. A careful consideration of the records of the London Company of Masons should, I think, leave little doubt that those who were accepted into Masonry were not so accepted for operative purposes, or to give them any status in the Company. The word "accepted" only appears a very few times in the whole of the Company's books. Also, there are no records of any meetings of accepted Masons dealing with the trade of Masonry, or the affairs of the Company. In 1620, there is an entry, which commences "at the making Masons," followed by the names of seven persons who were then made.

All these names can be found earlier in the Company's accounts, as being free of the Company, and three of them were already on the Livery. In connection with this making there was a banquet, which cost £10 7s. 4d., or £1 0s. 8d. more than the Company received from the seven. This does not look like a trade or business transaction. Again, in 1650, Thomas Moore, junr., paid his fine "in coming on the livery and admission upon acceptance of masonry," although he was made free of the Company in 1634. But even more conclusive is the entry, in the same year: "It. Mr. Andrew Marvin the present warden for his coming on the accepcon. 20s." Andrew Marvin was Renter Warden that year, he had been made free of the Company in 1623-24, and he came on the Livery in 1636-37. There are two accepted Masons in 1650 who cannot be traced in the books of the Company as members thereof. These two paid double fees, which seems to point to strangers being permitted to become accepted Masons on payment of a special fee. These facts do, I think, substantiate Bro. Conder's contention, that "At this date (1619) and extending from the early days of architectural development, there was a peculiar esoteric division in the communities of masons, which at times admitted persons, in no way operatively connected with their craft, into fellowship with them when they met for the purpose of speculative masonry, and these persons who were so admitted were termed Accepted Masons, perhaps at first to distinguish them from the Operative or Free-Mason."

In 1682, Elias Ashmole, although not belonging to the Company of Masons, was summoned to attend a Lodge at Masons Hall, composed of certain members of the Company of Masons, and at this Lodge six gentlemen were admitted into the Fellowship of Freemasons, four being already members of the Company, but the remaining two—Sir William Wilson, Kt., and Captain Richard Borthwick—were not. Bro. Bullamore asks us to believe that Ashmole's name had been transmitted from Warrington, in Lancashire, to London in 1646, and that that was the reason he was summoned to the meeting at the Masons Hall. Ashmole had been living in London for many years when he was invited to attend that meeting, and I think it far more likely that he had satisfied friends of his, who were members of the Lodge at Masons Hall, that he had been duly made a Mason, than that he was summoned on account of a return made, by the Lodge at Warrington, thirty-five years previously.

One further point with regard to the Acception may be noted. In the Inventory, made on the 4th July, 1676, of the goods and chattels of the Masons Company, we find, "item one Book of the Constitutions of the Accepted Masons," and, immediately next to it, the item "one Book of Ancient Constitutions and Orders." The former was undoubtedly a copy of the Old Charges, or MS. Constitutions. Eleven years earlier, on the 14th June, 1665, an Inventory had been taken of the Company's goods, and in it we find, "And one Book with the Constitutions which Mr. flood gave," followed by "One other Book of Constitutions." Bro. Conder thought that the second of the two Books in the 1665 Inventory, and the first of the two Books in the 1676 Inventory, were the same. I suggest that the item, which was the copy of the Old Charges in the earlier Inventory, was the Book which Mr. flood gave. It corresponds with the order of the Book in the second Inventory. Also, it is hardly likely that a Donor's name would be given to the Book of Ancient Constitutions and Orders, which, according to Bro. Conder, probably contained the Ordinances of 1481, and was the Book from which the Clerk to the Company made extracts, in 1724. Now, if my suggestion is correct, who was the Mr. flood who presented a copy of the Old Charges to the Masons Company? The suggestion has been made that the donor was none other than Robert Fludd (1576-1637), the famous Rosicrucian and Alchemist. Robert Fludd had a residence in London close to the headquarters of the Masons Company. If he was the man, then it would seem possible that he was a member of the Acception of the Masons Company, and that its members practised speculative Masonry, although operative Masons may have been admitted as members. The association might also account for the introduction of certain symbols into Freemasonry which do not pertain to operative Masonry.

With regard to the number of Degrees which were conferred in Speculative Lodges prior to 1717, we have had many papers in *A.Q.C.* setting out the known facts from which various deductions have been made. Bro. Bullamore, however, prefers to theorize without the facts, and consequently must not object if we do not all agree with him. Whatever the ceremonies may have been during the days of operative Masonry, and Bro. Songhurst's speculations as to the probable practices of the Operative Masons are very feasible (*A.Q.C.* xxxii., 35), yet I cannot find any evidence that there was more than one ceremony in English Speculative Masonry, as practised during the seventeenth century. In October, 1646, Elias Ashmole was "made a Free Mason" at Warrington, and there is no record that he attended a Mason's Lodge to receive any further degrees between that date and March, 1682, when he attended the Lodge at the Masons Hall, London, being then the senior "Fellow" present. At this meeting the "new-accepted Masons" were admitted into "the Fellowship of Free Masons," and that appears to have been the only speculative ceremony in England, of whatever it may have consisted. In Scotland, however, there were, according to the combined evidence of the Minute of the Old Lodge at Haughfoot, Scotland, of 22nd December, 1702, and the Chetwode Crawley MS., of early eighteenth century date, two distinct ceremonies; but it must be remembered that in that country the Masons' Lodges retained their operative features, and exercised control over the trade, long after a similar state of affairs had ceased in England. This being so, and if the operative ceremonies were the same in both countries, we may assume that the English Speculative Lodges had by 1646, and probably earlier, telescoped the two ceremonies into one. No period of servitude was required, and, therefore, there was no reason why there should be any interval between the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow or Master. Whether the result of this was curtailment of operative practices there is no evidence.

Bro. Bullamore states that each Lodge possessed a copy of the Old Charges "on which" Masons were admitted. I quite agree that a copy of the Old Charges was present in Lodge, because part, at any rate, had to be read to the Candidate. The Old Charges, however, plainly state in the "tunc unus" clause, that the Candidate took the Oath on the Bible, and I, therefore, think that it would be more correct to say that he was admitted on the Bible.

Does Bro. Bullamore suggest that the Lodge of Accepted Masons mentioned by Aubrey was a purely operative Lodge? If he does, then I must demur from that suggestion, for the reason that we are told that the Lodge was for the purpose of admitting Sir Christopher Wren, and Sir Henry Goodric of the Tower of London.

I also think that it is very unsound to deduce, from the divergent practices of the Antients and Modern Lodges in the second half of the eighteenth century, that distinct types of Lodges amalgamated, prior to 1717, to form our present ceremonies. In the first place we have no evidence of the existence in 1717 of independent Lodges in which were carried out entirely different ceremonies from those which were practised in the Lodges that formed the Grand Lodge, nor, if there were any such, that they identified themselves with the Antient Lodges. All our knowledge concerning the Antients points to the fact that they, to a large extent, emanated from Ireland, and were composed principally of Irish Masons in London. It also seems tolerably clear that English and Irish Freemasonry was the same in essentials, in 1723, when Anderson published the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. This work was used in both countries to regulate the Lodges; Sir Thomas Prendergast, initiated in England, was a Grand Warden of both Grand Lodges in 1725; Springett Penn, a member of an English Lodge in 1725, was Deputy Grand Master of "the Grand Lodge for the Province of Munster"; and Lord Kingston, Grand Master in England in 1729, was Grand Master in Ireland in 1731. The ceremonies in the English Lodges appear to have undergone revision and expansion during the early years of the Grand Lodge era, and,

also, alterations undoubtedly took place in such ceremonies after the publication of some of the so-called exposures. I can, however, find no evidence to show that there were different classes of Lodges, practising different ceremonies, at or immediately preceding the formation of Grand Lodge in 1717.

Further it seems very unsafe for Bro. Bullamore to assume the accuracy of the statement in *Hiram, or the Grand Master Key*, first published in 1764, that "the Modern Masons make Use of no Prayer." We know that the Modern Lodges were using Prayers about 1730, because three of them are to be found in the Rawlinson MSS., one of them, said to have been composed by William Dudley, being printed, and, therefore, probably used extensively. William Dudley was a member of the Modern Lodge meeting at "the Sash and Cocoe Tree in Upper Moore:fields," in 1731, of which Richard Rawlinson was also a member. Also, in the first edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, published in 1772, we find copies of Prayers to be used at the Opening and the Closing of the Lodge, and upon the Initiation of a Candidate. *Hiram* has an Antient flavour about it, and the statement may have been made in consequence of the writer's ignorance upon the matter, or with a view to lower the prestige of the Modern Lodges. Much of the ceremonies as given in *Hiram*, including a Prayer, is copied word for word from *The Three Distinct Knocks*, another so-called exposure, first published in 1760. There is, however, no note in this work that the Modern Masons use no prayer, that being an addition by the author of *Hiram*. It may also be noted that the Songs in *Hiram* are copied from one of the editions of *Masonry Dissected*, the first edition of which was published in 1730, and the author of *Hiram* must, therefore, have known of that version of the Ceremonies when he was compiling his own work. It may be, therefore, that the note as to Prayers was inserted simply because there are no Prayers given in early editions of *Masonry Dissected*, which he may have thought gave the ceremonies of the Modern Masons.

I cannot understand Bro. Bullamore's reference to the term "Tyler." The word is to be found in Minutes many years before the records of the Antients commence, and there is nothing to show that this term was exclusively theirs. Anderson, in the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, refers to the "Tyler."

Besides, in 1664, one year before the earlier of the two Inventories, there is, in the MS. Account Book of Receipts and Payments, 1619-1706, the following item:—"Paid the Clerk for a book and writing the Ancient Orders of the Company . . . 10s. 0d." This entry could not have referred to the book "which Mr. Flood gave," and must, therefore, be the "one other book of Constitutions," which in the 1676 Inventory is termed the "book of the Ancient Constitutions and Orders."

Bro. Bullamore refers to the Patron Saints of Masonry. Whose Patron Saints precisely were the Quatuor Coronati? They were undoubtedly the Patron Saints of the Steinmetzen in Germany, being referred to in the Strasburg Regulations of 1459, and the Torgau Ordinances of 1462. We also know of them as the Patron Saints of the Masons Gilds in other parts of Europe. In England we have no reference to them in any of the Old Charges or MS. Constitutions. There are, I believe, only two references to these Saints in Mediæval Masonic documents, viz., the Regius Poem of 1390 (*circa*), and the Regulations of the London Company of Masons, of 1481. From the latter we may deduce that, in that year, at all events, the Quatuor Coronati were the Patron Saints of all the Freemen of the London Gild of Masons. The Regius Poem does not, I think, help us. It is a medley, comprising a version of the Old Charges in metre, extracts from *Urbanitas*, and *Instructions to a Parish Priest*, and those lines which tell us of the Quatuor Coronati. If the Quatuor Coronati had been the Patron Saints of the Church Masons one would have expected to have found some reference to them in the Old Charges, or to have found Masons meeting on their day in the Calendar. Instead of this we find the anniversary days of the Masons, in the seventeenth century, to be those of

St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, while in the years immediately succeeding the foundation of Grand Lodge, in 1717, St. John the Baptist's Day has the preference. Was it that the Quatuor Coronati were the Patron Saints of the Gild Masons, and the two Saint Johns those of the Church Masons? I hope that further evidence may one day be forthcoming to elucidate this problem.

There are several other points in Bro. Bullamore's paper upon which much might be said, but, having already exceeded all reasonable limits of space, I will conclude by thanking Bro. Bullamore for bringing so many items of information together, which, if they do not prove his theories, must, at any rate, be of value to those who are studying the past of our beloved Fraternity.

Bro. B. TELEPNEFF writes as follows:—

Bro. Bullamore makes in his highly interesting paper a reference to "the architect of St. Basil's Cathedral at Moscow rumoured to have been slain by the local authorities to prevent him from building another such masterpiece." The actual legend does not run quite on the same lines as suggested by Bro. Bullamore.¹ The Cathedral of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin at Moscow, to give the building its proper name, commonly known as the church of St. Basil the Beatified, was erected by the Czar John the Terrible² on his return from a victorious campaign against the Kazan Tartars; the building was completed in the years 1555-1559. It presents the unusual aspect of nine turrets, four of which are situated, as it were, on each extremity of the four arms of a cross, the key shape of the Cathedral, four others are equally distributed among them, and one taller than all and of pyramidal form towers in the middle of that cross. The colours and shapes of these nine turrets and their cupolas, although of peculiar and fanciful variety, yet present one symmetrical and harmonious whole. Now, the tradition runs that when the Czar saw this marvellous Cathedral, he immediately sent for the architect (whose name unfortunately remains unknown). The Czar expressed his vivid approval of the architect's work and asked him if there was another similar church anywhere; the architect replied "No," as it was his own idea and he had never constructed another. The Czar proceeded to ask if such another church could be built, to which the architect answered "Yes," adding, however, that he was the only builder who could construct such a church. The Czar's reply was: "Put his eyes out, and then no other such church can ever be made." Accordingly the unlucky architect, although richly rewarded, was blinded. Thus, the tradition about St. Basil's church in Moscow is hardly illustrative of Bro. Bullamore's point, since its only import seems to be a popular characteristic of John The Terrible's jealous cruelty and pride.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

There are two points in Bro. Bullamore's paper on which the following comments may be useful.

By an easy but unconvincing gradation he converts the sprig of acacia into the laurel branch of Apollo! The gradation is:—

- (a) "The sprig of acacia of present-day Masonry is quite like the laurel branch of Apollo and is certainly unlike the acacia of Palestine."
- (b) A quotation from the Golden Bough which has to do with laurel-bearing.

¹ Sée, for instance, *Moscow*, painted by F. D. Hainen, described by Henry M. Grove, London, 1912, p. 57.

² Born 1534, died 1584.

- (c) "Thus we have the laurel, &c. . . associated with the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, while in Freemasonry we have all these emblems associated with the Temple of Solomon."

This seems to be a clear case of substituted symbols without any reason. If it be the case that the sprig of acacia is inaccurately represented by Masonic artists, that is a good reason for restoring the genuine form, but none for substituting a totally different symbol. The sprig of acacia has its own authentic position which fits in well with its traditional Masonic surroundings. Everyone who has looked into the matter has found that the Acacia of Palestine is not the pseud-acacia which is so well known in England. The Acacia of Palestine and neighbouring lands holds an important position in the Hebrew records. The word Acacia does not occur in the Authorised version of the Bible, but it can be found in the Revised version in the following places:—Exodus xxv., 5, 10, 13, 23, 28; xxvi., 15, 26, 32, 37; xxvii., 1, 6; xxx., 1; xxxv., 7, 24; xxxvi., 20, 31, 36; xxxvii., 1, 4, 10, 15, 28; xxxviii., 6; Deuteronomy x., 3; and Isaiah xli., 19.

From the above passages it appears that the Ark of the Covenant, the table of shewbread, the staves for bearing them, the boards for the Tabernacle, the four pillars for the veil, the five pillars for the screen for the door of the Tabernacle, the altar of burnt offering and its staves (both overlaid with brass), the altar of burnt incense and its staves (both overlaid with gold) were all made by Bezaleel mainly out of acacia wood; which, in the Authorised version, is called shittim wood.

Thus it will be seen that the acacia was much used in the construction of the Tabernacle and its appurtenances. The Tabernacle is described in the 1723 *Constitutions* as "a most beautiful piece of architecture (and prov'd afterwards the Model of Solomon's Temple) according to the Pattern that God had shewn to Moses in the Mount: who therefore became the General Master-Mason, as well as King of Jessurun, being well skilled in all the Egyptian learning, and divinely inspir'd with more sublime knowledge in Masonry. So that the Israelites, at their leaving Egypt, were a whole kingdom of Masons well instructed, under the Conduct of their Grand Master Moses, who often marshall'd them into a regular and general Lodge while in the Wilderness, . . ."

I have not seen the word "Laurel" anywhere in the Bible.

Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* states that "the desert acacia of which the Ark of the Covenant and the boards, tables, &c. of the Tabernacle were made is no doubt Acacia Seyal, Del. and A. tortilis, Hayne if the two be not as we suspect varieties of the same species." That Dictionary gives much information as to the use of the wood, and its plentifulness in past and present times. "A number of places" (it says) "were named from the tree, as Shittim (Joshua ii., 1, and elsewhere), perhaps the modern Ghor es-Saisabân where there are still plenty of Acacia trees and Abel-Shittim (Numbers xxxiii., 49), i.e., the Plain of the Acacias . . . This as all the valleys debouching on to the Dead Sea would naturally have acacia trees growing in it."

The *Jewish Encyclopædia* (vol. 1, under Acacia) also makes several interesting statements, and says the Acacia was not used for common purposes because used for the Ark of the Tabernacle.

The *New English Dictionary*, under Acacia, begins with a quotation dated 1543. Traheron, Vigo (1586) 429. Acacia is a thorny tree growing in Egypte.

The *N.E.D.* also has the following remarkable statement:—

Acacia ? Obsolete.

Something resembling a kind of roll or bag, seen on medals in the hands of several of the Consuls and Emperors from the time of Anasatasius. *Chambers' Cycl.*, 1751. Filled with earth . . . to remind him of his frailty and mortality. *Chambers' Suppl.*

Why "something resembling a kind of roll" should be called an acacia is a problem which the learned brethren may be able to solve. Is it possible that Martin Folkes (who was a great authority on coins) wrote or inspired the articles in *Chambers' Cycl.*, and, finding it necessary to give some name to the thing in question, called it "Acacia" and used the suggestive phrases above quoted? Was Martin Folkes a Royal Arch Mason?

There is an article by Bro. Cheesman (in the *Transactions* for 1919-20 of The Lodge of Research No. 2429 Leicester), entitled "A Sprig of Acacia." In that article Bro. Cheesman has gone very fully into the subject, and he deals with the point as to the earliest English *Masonic* references being to "Cassia" rather than to 'Acacia.' He quotes from the Herbals of Dodoens (1595) and Gerard (1633) as well as from other writers, and shows that they give ample descriptions of the true Acacia. Thus our Masonic forefathers were not left in ignorance of the plant, although the word "Acacia" did not appear in the 1611 version of the Bible. He concludes that the words "Acacia" and "Cassia" were in olden times used synonymously.

I do but touch on one other point in Bro. Bullamore's paper. I must confess that I am entirely at a loss to conceive how any of the references he makes to foundation sacrifices, or other deaths connected with buildings, have or can have any reference to the Third degree. None of them seem to illustrate the subject of Fidelity. As a matter of fact, the incident commemorated in the Third degree remains unique in its circumstances, and although research workers have been investigating earnestly for many years they have not been able to produce any record of so much as one really parallel case.

Bro. E. H. DRING furnishes the following translation:—

L'HISTOIRE DES QUATRE FILS AYMON. Troyes, 1630. Chapter 35.

How Regnaut began to work for the masons at Cologne and was killed by them through jealousy and thrown into the Rhine.

After Regnaut left Montauban, he set out through the wood and journeyed all day, eating nothing but wild apples and medlars. At night he lay down under a tree and, wishing to go to sleep, crossed himself, commended himself to God and fell asleep till morning. At daybreak he went on his way through the wood and continued there for eight days, eating only wild fruits, at the end of which time he emerged from the wood and found a monastery, where he stayed that night. The monks there wished to give him some food, but he would have only bread. The next day he left and travelled till he reached Cologne on the Rhine, where he found St. Peter's Church being built. He went inside and going to the Altar knelt down before it and said a prayer to our Lord; and there came to him the desire to serve there for the honour of God and of St. Peter, for he told himself that it was better to serve our Lord's Church than to wander in the woods.

After much thought, he went to the overseer (maître) of the work and said to him: "Master, I am a foreigner; may I serve you here?"

Then said the overseer: "Friend, go and help those four men who are unable to carry that stone."

"Sir," said he, "do not scold those poor folk, I will fetch it for you at once."

"Don't hurry yourself, friend," said the overseer, "for if no one but you lends a hand the stone is likely to stay where it is, for it's too heavy a task."

"Sir," replied he, "you shall have it straight away without any other help but mine, if it please God." Whereupon he lifted the stone and carried it to the master masons.

He helped so much that he became a favourite with the masters of the work, for which reason the other workmen were so jealous that they killed him

while he slept, put him into a sack and threw him into the Rhine. By God's will the fish kept him up on the water and a bright light surrounded his body, at which the inhabitants of the country were very astonished; and they took the body and put it in a coffin which the nobles wished to bring into the city of Cologne; but they were unable to do so. Then they said: "Now we know that we are not worthy to touch this holy body, for we are great sinners."

While the nobles were speaking, the funeral carriage started of its own accord, by the will of God, and went quickly along before all the people. Then all the clergy and all the people seeing it began to lament. For, when the carriage began to move, it passed the tomb where they had wished to inter the body, and went on and on, so that they could not stop it, right out of the city of Cologne. When the carriage was outside the city it took to the main road, and that was why the people began to lament.

Then the Archbishop said to them: "Sirs, you can plainly see that this is a holy corpse by the wonderful miracles that it has done to-day before us all; wherefore let us follow it, as an escort, for it is not right thus to let it go alone." So all the clergy and the people, great and lowly, began to follow the holy corpse, the clergy in the rear singing with great devotion.

On went the carriage, till it came to a little town named Croine, and there it stopped; and our Lord performed there many wonderful miracles for love of the holy corpse, for all sick people, whatever their disease, who came to see it were cured. (The renown of the corpse was so spread abroad by everyone, that people came from all parts of France and Germany, and so great was the value of the offerings that they made to it that in place of the little chapel, dedicated to our Lady, where it had stopped, a magnificent Church was built.)

The Archbishop Turpin, seeing that the holy corpse had stopped there, uncovered its face so that everyone might see it, to ascertain if anyone could recognise it and know its name; for no one knew otherwise what to call it. When the Archbishop saw that nobody recognised it, he was very sorry.

I must tell you that one day Regnaut's brothers were by a fountain, grieving sorely that they could get no news of their brother, when a pilgrim who was passing that way came and saluted them.

"Where do you come from, Pilgrim?" said Alard. "If you have any news, tell us it."

"My lords, I come from Germany, from a town called Croine, near Cologne on the Rhine. There I saw some fine miracles done by a man who came to Cologne, a very big man he was, for everyone who saw him said he was a giant. When he came to Cologne he saw St. Peter's Church being built. He presented himself to the overseer, offered to work as a labourer there and was willingly received. To tell you briefly, this man worked marvellously, for he carried more in one load than did ten of the other men; he served the masons so well that they were better pleased with him than with the others. When the other workmen saw this they were so jealous of him that they killed him and threw him into the Rhine, whence, by the will of God, his body was taken out sanctified and wrought many wonderful miracles."

He described to them, feature by feature, the appearance of the said body. Alard, Guichard and Richard, listening to the pilgrim, began to weep for pity of their brother, for they realized from what the pilgrim said that it was he.

"Alas, my dear brothers," said Richard, "we are desolated, for I know that this is our brother whom we have sought so long," They were so overcome with grief that they could say no more.

They took leave of the pilgrim, returned to make preparations, and then made their way to Croine and went to the Church, where they found so many people that they could scarcely enter. They approached the holy corpse which lay, uncovered, on a beautiful stone, and saw around it a great light, as of a

hundred torches. When they came close and began to look at it they knew that it was their brother, and sank fainting to the ground. The Archbishop, seeing this, was very surprised, and said to some of his clergy: "My lords, I think we shall soon know what we have so much desired to know, for I believe that these gentlemen recognise the holy corpse."

Presently they revived from their swoon and began to say: "Alas, we have lost our brother, on whose account we were feared and dreaded! Who has been so bold as to lay his hand upon you? He could not have known your goodness and your bravery or he would not so cruelly have killed you!"

Then Alard turned to his brothers and said: "My dear brothers, we may well be sad since we have lost our brother who was our comfort, our joy and our help."

Then the Archbishop went to them and said: "My lords, do not be angry at what I am going to say; in my opinion you are very wrong to grieve thus, for you should feel great joy for your brother who is now a saint in Paradise and who suffered martyrdom in the service of our Lord; you see that he is given a good reward for it, you can see, too, before your eyes the wonderful miracles that he does, wherefore I beg you to be comforted and to tell us, if you will, who you are and what is the name of the holy corpse, so that we may put his name upon his tomb."

When they heard the Archbishop speak thus they began to moderate their grief. Then Alard, who was the eldest after Regnaut, said to him: "My lord, since you wish to know our names and the name of this dead man, let me tell you that he was called Regnaut de Montauban, the brave and valiant knight, and we who are here were his brothers: no doubt you have heard of the four sons of Aymon of whom everyone talks so much."

When the people heard that the holy corpse was Regnaut de Montauban, the noble knight, they all began to weep for pity and for joy that they should see before their eyes the bravest knight in the world, who had died in the service of our Lord, doing penance.

After the three brothers had somewhat assuaged their grief they buried their brother with great honour, placing him in a rich tomb which the Archbishop had had made in the place where his body lay, as everyone knows; and he is called Saint Regnaut, martyr. His memory was authentically put on record, and he is commemorated every year with great solemnity in that part of the country.

After the burial of the body the brothers returned to their own country.

BRO. BULLAMORE writes, in reply:—

An hypothesis to be of use must harmonize all known facts. Criticism, therefore, may usefully take the form of pointing out such facts as cannot be fitted to the scheme. The discussion has produced no adverse facts, but disagreement with my interpretation of known facts has been expressed.

The W.M. remarks on my use of "possible" and "probable." All reconstructions of history are provisional, and I see no advantage in suppressing the facts. The omission of these words by others does not make their statements less open to question.

Cromwell's connection with Freemasonry was asserted in a book published at Amsterdam in 1747.¹ When the *Ballad of Blarney Castle* got into print in 1827 it contained a similar statement. O'Mahony's version of this ballad² in 1834 contains it also. When Crofton Croker reprinted the ballad in 1839 he

¹ *Les Francs Maçons érasés*, p. 97.

² *Reliques of Father Prout*, i., 158.

added a note saying that the statement concerning Cromwell's connection with Freemasonry was in harmony with Irish tradition. (The "wild geese" could readily bring or take the belief from or to the Continent.) It is now suggested that the tradition was an invention of Crofton Croker to explain the invention of the idea by the anonymous author of the ballad, the similar idea published at Amsterdam in the previous century being no doubt an original invention also. I find it easier to believe Crofton Croker. An Irish tradition is in harmony with all the facts.

It must be remembered that when Ashmole entered Freemasonry in 1646 the London Freemasons were the Company of Freemasons. They took this name at the Reformation, and if their privileges were previously obtained by a papal bull, the change to a London Livery Company was the best method of preserving their organisation and privileges. A liveryman and freeman of London was free to follow his trade, or to reside either within the City or anywhere else in the realm. He and his goods were, or ought to be, quit and free of all Toll, Lastage, Passage, Pickage, Pontage, Parage or Murage throughout the realm. The city could take action to recover for illegal seizure. In addition, he was only amenable to the jurisdiction of the City of London, and his Livery Company was the supreme authority for his "mystery." The London Pewterers in the fifteenth century made extensive searches for, and confiscations of, base metal throughout England, and their list of country members in 1474-5 show that they had members in Bury, Cambridge, Canterbury, Oxford, Brentford, Burford, Nottingham, Lincoln, Taunton, Exeter, Chichester, Bristol, etc. The Goldsmiths Company supervised the sale of manufactured gold and silver at "all fairs, marts or markets, cities, towns and Boroughs and all other places" throughout England, sometimes at great bodily peril! The London Shipwrights supervised the building of ships at all seaports, and when deprived of these powers they made great efforts to recover them.

So-called speculatives such as Ashmole were merely non-operative members of an operative guild, and I consider that architecture was of sufficient importance for the London Freemasons to have had powers similar to these other companies. Therefore, they had power to enroll Ashmole as a country member. The Charter of 1677 led to the separation of the guild ceremonies from the guild itself.

I do not agree that Ireland was the heart of the Antient system. Ireland received Freemasonry from England at some early date, and it is not surprising, therefore, that it had many features in common with English tradition. But whereas the Antients looked upon the R.A. as the crown of Masonry, both Ireland and the Moderns officially rejected it. I suspect the explanation to be that neither of them were in possession of the traditions of the guild masters, but derived their knowledge from journeymen and fellows possessing no comprehensive knowledge of the system.

The date of the arrival of a degree into Ireland is a poor clue to the date at which the degree originated. We certainly know that it originated at or before that date, but whether the period was three days or three centuries must be decided by other evidence.

The Modern Mason was made originally at a single ceremony and was styled an E.A. by Anderson. Their Lodges were apparently guarded from within by the youngest E.A. The G.L. of the Moderns, however, quickly enlarged its scope to admit other forms of Lodge. Some years later we find Lodges under Modern Warrants that made Fellows and Masters, and even worked the R.A., K.T. and R.C. degrees. I cannot look upon any of these Lodges as typical of Modern Masonry. Their Deacons and Tyler came with the higher degrees.

Gould¹ considers that we should do well to hold fast to historical tradition and test it by the standard of historical probability. If Bro. Covey-Crump

¹ *History*, p. 5.

has any more feasible hypothesis as to the connection of Freemasonry with Gothic Architecture than that they commenced the style under the Cistercians I should find no difficulty in accepting it. I find that Francis Bond¹ says: "The third quarter of the twelfth century was an epoch fertile in change and improvement . . . and for much of the improvement the builders of the new Cistercian Abbeys may fairly claim the credit. Their influence was greatest where their abbeys were most numerous, viz.: in the North of England." Rickman² gives 1154 A.D. to 1190 A.D. as the transition period from Romanesque to Gothic. It was in 1147 A.D. that Furness, Byland, Jervaulx and other Savignac communities were absorbed by the Cistercians, and according to Thompson³ the order of Savigny specialized in the training of apprentices. The combination of monkish tutors, their pupils, and the local operatives, together with the organising genius of the Cistercians, suggests advantages in influencing or re-modelling a local guild that it would be difficult to parallel. It also brings within the range of historical probability the statement in the Old Charges that Athelstan gave a Charter to the Masons about a century and a quarter before this date. According to Lethaby⁴ the early part of the thirteenth century was the central moment of change in England from monastic to lay art.

The difference between Bro. Daynes and myself does not arise from my theorizing without facts, but from my use of imagination to bring about harmony between facts. Bro. Daynes does not avoid their clashing. A company was the governing body of a mystery, and the belief that a Masons' Company existed in the thirteenth century clashes with the statement made in A.D. 1356 that the Masons had not been governed and regulated like other trades. But if there was a Guild of Setters and Layers in the thirteenth century that was powerless over the Masons or Hewers it would explain the conflict when these latter took seriously to the work of stone-laying as well as stone-preparing. The Old Charges never acknowledge that a Layer is a Mason, and the view that the Masons and Layers were one fraternity is at variance with this fact. Abbot Gasquet⁵ says that all guilds, whether craft or religious, "had the same general characteristic principle of brotherly love and social charity." I can see no trace of this as existing between the Layers and Masons of the Old Charges. It is not sound to assume that there was but one fraternity in each trade or mystery. The Fraternity of St. Mary of the Skinners and the Fraternity of Corpus Christi of the Skinners amalgamated about 1380. The Pewterers were of the Brotherhood of the Assumption of Our Lady and the Fraternity of St. Michael the Archangel. The Tallow Chandlers were of the Fraternity of Our Lady and St. John the Baptist and the Fraternity of Our Lady and St. Elizabeth. The Tailors all recognised St. John the Baptist as their patron, but the two fraternities kept their feasts at different churches and on different dates, the Merchants observing the 24th June annually and the Bachelors the Decollation (August 29th) triennially. When one of the fraternities was a yeoman fraternity it had become a general rule for the master or wardens to be among the fellows or livery, and this suggests that the Payne-Anderson regulation to that effect was derived from journeyman traditions.

The document of 1376 states that the representatives were called separately for each mystery and the oath administered. If the two Layers came under the notice of the clerk after he had entered the two Freemasons, he would realize that the four names should be together as of the mystery of Masons. He therefore wrote all four names because there was no space available against the two Freemason names already entered. The first entry was not actually crossed out, but *quia postea* was written against it.

¹ *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 105.

² *ibid.*, p. 100.

³ *English Monasteries*, p. 13.

⁴ *Westminster Abbey*, p. 362.

⁵ *Medieval Parish Life*, p. 254.

In 1724 the Masons' Company possessed a book¹ entitled "Constitutions made and granted to the Fellowship of the Free Masons . . . 1481." A quotation tells us that they were to be clad in one clothing "convenient to their powers and degrees." Freemasons are still clad in one clothing convenient to their powers and degrees, and I question the correctness of Bro. Daynes' view that the word "Freemason" did not occur in the document. The brief abstracts in the City Records, if they relate to the same document, are quite insufficient as evidence of what the *Constitutions* of 1481 did not contain.

When the evidence as to the Accepted Masons dating from 1619 is interpreted to show that non-members of the Masons' Company had power to spend the company's money in banquets we should do well to be cautious. I read the entries differently. In 1648 Moore and Herneden paid £12 as part of "their fine of nine pounds apeice for coming on the Livery." In 1650 we read "Recd of Thos Moore in full of his fine for coming on the livery and admission uppon acceptance of masonry £iiii. Richard Herneden for the like the sum of £iiii."²

From these entries it is evident that part of the fine or gratuity was paid when the offer of Livery was accepted. Then came the acceptance of Masonry followed by admission to the Livery. Of the seven who were made Masons in 1620 none were *on the Livery*, but three of them, French, Hince and Lloyd, had paid £6, £4 10s. and £4 respectively upon *acceptance of Livery*. With four others they then paid the total of £9 6s. 8d. at the making of Masons. The following year we get this entry:—"Recd of James French when he took uppon him the livery £iii."³

Andrew Mervin's payment of £1 was made the year before he served as Renter Warden. Mervin seems to have accepted Livery in 1636 and paid a deposit, instead of refusing the Livery and paying a fine. When offered the post of Renter Warden, as a refusal entailed a fine of £10, he accepted Masonry, came on the Livery and acted as Renter Warden.

Gould⁴ refers to "the strictly operative character of the 'Old Lodge of St. Paul' in 1723, 1725 and 1730." This clashes with Bro. Daynes' view of its non-operative character in 1691 unless we assume that it was non-operative during the building of the cathedral and became operative after the workmen had departed. This seems both unlikely and unnecessary. It was an operative Lodge which admitted a few non-operatives as mock-speculatives.

The Moderns when they made a Mason made a speculative apprentice who could become a fellow at a later date. There is no prayer given by Preston for use at the making of a fellow, and this suggests that these prayers are really the prayers of the Antients. The Antients only made a speculative apprentice as a preliminary to the fellowship which they conferred at the same meeting. We know that Ashmole was made a fellow, and we have no right to assume that the preliminary apprenticeship was omitted in his case. Gould⁵ refers to the single form of reception before 1717 as "an assumption founded on a misreading of the evidence." He says that "many other fables are devoutly believed in by a large class of Masonic writers."

I am indebted to Bro. Poole for very full information concerning the *tunc unus* clause of the Old Charges which is referred to by Bro. Daynes as proof that the candidate was admitted on the Bible and not on the Charges. I find that in every instance the word used in this clause is *librum*. In the next sentence, all the older MSS., all definitely dated MSS., and the majority of the remainder speak of 'a book' 'ane book' or 'the book.' In some half-dozen MSS., however, comprising the Colne and Harris families and dating after the middle of the seventeenth century, we find that 'Bible' or 'Holy Bible'

¹ Conder's *Hole Craft*, p. 97.

² *ibid.*, p. 170.

³ *ibid.*, p. 146.

⁴ *History* ii., p. 53.

⁵ *A.Q.C.* xvi., p. 32.

has replaced the word book. In the York group, the four known MSS. use the term 'Holy Scripture.' What was the original book?

The Old Charges inform us that in Athelstan's time a 'book' was made from the various charges then in existence. We find that other brotherhoods refer to their charges as a book. The Brotherhood of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, Aldersgate, had this rule:—"The first poynt is this that when a brother or a suster schal be receyved yey schul be swore upon a book to ye brotherhood." The matter is made still clearer in the Garlickhithe Brotherhood¹ (1375). The charges, still in existence, were written on paper and the following was a rule:—"Also yo yt comen hereafter to ye bretherhede, as brethren other sustren, he chal swere on ye papir tofore ye wardeins therof for to kepe wel and trowelie all ye pointz of this papir atte hir power."

In the Rawlinson copy of the Masonic Charges the final words are "the holy contents of this roll."² The "papir" of St. Marys Garlickhithe was a copy of the charges or "pointz" of the guild, and I believe that the *librum*, book, roll and possibly Scripture of the Masonic Charges refers to the rules or charges also. The users of the Colne and Harris Charges, and perhaps of the York Charges also, appear to have replaced the halidom of the earlier days with the Bible. I notice that Colne No. 2 omits reference to the halidom at the end, and in a modern oath, as the Bible is the halidom,³ this alteration is perfectly sound.

A difficulty between Bro. Poole and myself is that we attach different meanings to certain words. He suggests that the speculatives were entitled to some secrets which the operatives did not possess. As I view it the operative Masons were a fraternity which admitted genuine speculative Masons after a mock apprenticeship to the trade. Non-operative non-speculatives came in by a similar ceremony and called themselves speculative Masons, eventually monopolising the term. I cannot see why they should become entitled to something that the operatives did not possess.

As to Masons and Freemasons. The Old Charges show that the Masons were a fraternity of stone-hewers. I suggest that no one was a mason who did not possess the word. They were divided according to skill into the masters, who were architects, carvers and draughtsmen, and the fellows, whose principal occupation was the making of mould stones, perfect or perpend ashlers and the like. The Layers of 1356 were wrongly described as Masons by the authorities, their decision being a victory for the Masons, who I believe to have encroached upon, and perhaps attempted to monopolise, the better class of layer work. The whole craft and fellowship was the result and the acceptance was merely the method for dispensing with apprenticeship and would enable the Layers to become Masons in the fellowship sense. This would weaken the Layers' Guild so that when the Freemasons took over the government of the trade at the Reformation no trouble would ensue. We know that the pre-Reformation fellowships were required to give particulars of any fraternities either within them or attached to them, and I think it likely that the Fellowship of Masons had an inner fraternity of Masters or Freemasons, and an outer fraternity of journeymen which the journeyman layer could join. We thus get the Freemasons, Fellows and Masons corresponding to the Assistants, Liverymen and Yeomanry of the Company. Gould⁴ says that "the upper ten" drew together as Freemasons at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. This would agree with the acceptance of the master builders of the Layers into the fraternity of the Master Masons.

That the word *Freemason* is derived from the fraternity and not from the work is, I think, partly confirmed by the fact that in the City Records Freemason is never translated. It remains the same in English, French and Latin.⁵

¹ Smith's *Gilds*, p. 5.

² *History* i., p. 71.

³ *Enc. Britt. Oaths*.

⁴ *History* i., p. 325.

⁵ *ibid* ii., p. 145.

I thank Bro. Telepneff for his version of the Moscow legend. Both forms were apparently known to Bro. Speth. It is evident that the Cathedral was built during the Czar's absence from Moscow, and if, on his return, he enquired for the architect, the authorities would have risen to the occasion. We may feel sure that Czar John knew nothing about builders' superstitions, for he would have undoubtedly taken the opportunity to ensure the stability of the building while at the same time preventing any possibility of a duplicate structure.

Bro. Dring has very kindly forwarded a translation, which I hope will appear in *A.Q.C.*, from a scarce edition of *Les Quatre Fils D'Aymon*, concerning the death of Regnaut at Cologne, who was killed by the Masons through jealousy and thrown into the Rhine.

Bro. Williams comments on two points. The gradual victory of Christianity over sun-worship was greatly aided by a process of absorption. Objects sacred to paganism were either given a Christian sanctity, or Biblical substitutes for the objects were found.¹ The substitution of the acacia of the Holy Land for the laurel of Greece sacred to Apollo, far from being objectless, would form part of a definite plan systematically carried out. Apollo became St. John the Baptist.

Kropotkin² on the authority of Schurtz, says that modern savage life is "honeycombed with secret societies and clubs . . . and contain already all the elements of the future guild; secrecy, independence from the family and sometimes, the clan, common worship of special gods, common meals, jurisdiction within the society and brotherhood." Looking upon modern savages as preserving many of the characteristics of primitive man, he arrives at the conclusion that "the art of building a large communal house so as not to offend the spirits of the fallen trees; the art of forging metals, so as to conciliate the hostile spirits . . . the making of boats . . . and finally the women's arts of weaving and dyeing—all these were in olden times as many 'artifices' and 'crafts' which required secrecy to be effective. Consequently they were transmitted from the earliest times in secret societies or 'mysteries' to those only who had undergone a painful initiation."

This connects the subject with the guild, and we have it also on the authority of Bro. Gould³ that "the story of the apprentice and his master has been referred to the Hiram legend current in Freemasonry."

In conclusion, I thank the Brethren for the opportunity to read this paper. The discussion has convinced me that the modern origin of Masonic degrees is a theory founded entirely on negative evidence. It solves nothing and sets up insoluble problems. I am satisfied that advance can only be made by accepting the theory of antiquity and endeavouring to strengthen the thin thread of tradition.

¹ *History* ii., p. 326.

² *Mutual Aid*, p. 324.

³ *History*, p. 286.

THE ROBERTS CONSTITUTIONS OF 1722 AND THE WORK OF BROTHER J. HARRIS.

BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS.



AS an explanation of the events which led to the reproduction in these *Transactions* of the accompanying photographic *fac-similes* of parts of the Roberts' print the following narration may be of interest.

A few years ago I was the guest of Bro. W. Lacon Threlford, at the Aldwych Lodge No. 3096, of which he was then the Master. During the progress of the subsequent period of refreshment he passed to me a volume of pamphlets bound together, and called my attention to one of them. This I found to be a print of the *Roberts Constitutions*; but the environment was not favourable to close Masonic study, and all that I could then do was to return the book to him with congratulations on his ownership of so rare a publication. I must admit that at that time I did not know how very rare the document was. The other pamphlets were contemporaneous, but had no Masonic interest.

Later on I purchased a few volumes of the *Freemason's Magazine*, and among them a volume for 1857 which on page 721 contains the following article:—

Brother J. Harris.

We had occasion in our Magazine of December last, to notice the distressed position in which this talented artist (the painter of the Prize Tracing-boards in use every Friday evening at the Emulation Lodge of Improvement) was at that time. We now extract the following from a catalogue of the sale of books, &c., lately issued by Messrs. Sotheby and Co., the celebrated auctioneers of literary property:—"Facsimiles" by John Harris.—"John Harris, the proprietor of the following lots is well known to possessors of rare books by the marvellous facsimiles executed by him to complete some of the scarcest in literature. His talent in this line is so wonderful, that his facsimiles of Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and other typographers, have puzzled even the connoisseur to detect the difference between the original and copy. Intense application has destroyed the eyesight of the artist, who having had a wife and family to maintain, is now, at the age of sixty-six, left without any means of support. To remove the temporary difficulties in which his blindness has placed him, the following facsimiles are to be sold without reserve:—

"It is to be hoped for Mr. Harris's sake, that the collectors of books and engravings, as well as whatever is curious in art, will not fail to secure specimens of the extraordinary skill of a man who leaves us without any one to supply his place."

Then follow a list of 100 lots of Facsimiles of the Early Printers, which were sold on 22nd August last, and we much regret to say did not realize the amount Bro. Harris anticipated they would from their great curiosity.

We may inform our readers that Bro. Harris is one of the candidates for the Annuity Fund, having polled at the last election 497 votes; and he will feel greatly obliged by the name of any Brother who will assist him in his canvass, communicating with Bro. R. Spencer, at his Masonic Depôt, Great Queen Street, opposite Freemasons' Hall.

We hear that Bro. J. Harris gives private instruction on the "Tracing-boards" as well as the "Ceremonies."

Bro. Spencer has called at our office and shown us a specimen of Bro. Harris's skill in a facsimile executed for him a few years back, in restoring a portion of the O.B. printed in black letter to a copy of the "Book of Constitutions," printed in 1722, now in his possession, and supposed to be unique; and which Bro. S. will be most happy to show to any member of the Craft.

Having a few years ago been at the Lodge Quatuor Coronati when Bro. Dring had passed round for inspection some *facsimiles* made by Bro. Harris, and having heard him say how difficult it was to distinguish the *facsimiles* from the originals, the above article interested me on that score, as well as on account of the biographical element, as to the famous designer of tracing boards.

Soon after reading the 1857 book, I acquired Bro. Vibert's work on the *Rare Books of Freemasonry*, and there found his statement that there were only two original prints known of the *Roberts Constitutions*, one being in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, and the other, which had recently come to light, being in private ownership. This latter print was the one owned by Bro. Threlford.

I thereupon wrote to Bro. Vibert calling his attention to the 1857 article, and suggested that either there was a third print in existence, or the Iowa copy was the one which had been "restored" by Bro. Harris.

Bro. Vibert was keenly interested. By return of post I received from him the photographic reprint of the Iowa copy, and a request to get hold of the copy held by my friend and to collate it, and report.

It only needed an inspection of the Iowa photographic copy to see, in the light thrown upon it by the article in the 1857 Magazine, that the original thereof must have been that on which Bro. Harris's skill had been expended. The photograph showed a mark right across the last leaf (and on both sides of it) indicating a tear and repair or conjectural restoration. The obligation printed in text on pages 18 and 19 had formed the model for the foot of the last page but one, and the ornament on page 19 (the extreme top portion of which had been indicated also on the last page) had been reproduced with the omission of the parts below and depending from the basket.

Bro. Threlford kindly produced his print, and this clinched the matter. The wording of the obligation was the same in both copies but for the fact that the word "*here*" had been inserted in the first line of the Iowa copy. Instead of the spacing and alignment being as in the true original (which is now reproduced and can be compared) the Iowa copy reads thus, line for line:—

I A.B. do here in the presence of
God Almighty, and of my Fellows
and Brethren here present, promise
and declare, That I will not at
any Time hereafter by any Act or
Circumstance whatsoever, directly
or indirectly, publish, discover, re-
veal or make known any of the-
se Secrets, privities or Coun-
cils

All this is the work of Bro. Harris, and the closest examination of the photograph fails to give the least notice of any fake so far as the shape of the letters is concerned.

He did omit one thing that he might have guessed, namely, that the signature letter "D" should have come at the foot of the same page, as it appears in the true *facsimile* now reproduced.

It is a tribute to the marvellous skill of Bro. Harris that this work of his remained undetected (so far as appears) ever since 1875 when it was purchased by Bro. Hughan at the sale of Bro. Spencer's Masonic Library at a cost of £8 10s. 0d. for the late Mr. Bower of Keokuk, Iowa.

It would probably have remained undetected for an indefinite period, but for the combination of two remote chances (1) that an unimportant article in an 1857 periodical arrested my attention and (2) that my friend happened to show me his purchase.

The results of the collation were reported to Bro. Vibert, who wrote an article on the subject in *Miscellanea Latomorum* for October, 1923, vol. viii., pages 58, 59 and 60.

It should be borne in mind that Bro. Spencer made no secret about the work done by Bro. Harris on the Iowa copy: on the contrary, he made it public: but, as Bro. Vibert points out, "naturally at the time of the sale of the library the fact that this restoration had been carried out was lost sight of; it had been done for Bro. Spencer more than twenty years previously."

The conclusion is that there is only one perfect copy of the Roberts' Constitutions of 1722 known to be in existence, and that that copy is in England.

There have been the following reprints made from the Spencer copy as completed by Bro. Harris:—

- (1) A separate pamphlet published by Spencer in 1870.
- (2) It formed part of the volume entitled "The Old Constitutions" edited by Bro. the Rev. J. E. Cox and published in 1871.
- (3) It was reprinted (or the remainder copies were used) by Pewtress in 1882 and bound up with Mark Grand Lodge Constitutions.
- (4) A photographic *facsimile* was issued for the Iowa Grand Lodge with a foreword by Bro. the Rev. J. Fort Newton in 1917.

Of this 1,000 numbered copies were made.

All the above copies now stand in need of slight correction as previously indicated.

Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., in *A.Q.C.* for 1909 vol. xxii., 185-6) records his discovery that another print appeared in *The Post Man and The Historical Account*, etc., in the year 1722. This was in five numbers of that newspaper: the first part being in No. 60015 for July 31st, August 2nd, 1722, and the remainder in subsequent numbers up to and including No. 60019. Of these five numbers, Nos. 60016 and 60018 were then, and appear to be still, missing.

Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins stated his opinion that both the newspaper print and the Roberts' print were taken direct from the original MS. Referring to the remarkable disappearance of all other copies of *The Post Man* and the Roberts' print he said: "I never despair of ultimate discovery, as fresh batches of old newspapers and pamphlets are constantly coming to light." The discovery of this new copy justifies that phrase.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

**JEWEL OF THE LODGE OF ALFRED IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. 1772.**¹—You will be interested to know that

I have discovered a fine specimen of the above medal among the coins at the Ashmolean Museum here. It appears to me to be more perfect than the other known examples as the ring is still attached. This ring is in the form of a shell. This medal was originally in the Bodleian Library, but how they came by it they are unable to say. I thought you might like to record its existence, so that other students may be made aware of it.

W. T. COXHILL.

Duke of Atholl's Arms, Oxford.—I am told that many years ago an enquiry was advertised as to the location of the Duke of Atholl's Arms where Lodge No. 214 warranted by the Ancients 13 Oct., 1781, and known as the City of Oxford Lodge in the lists of 1807 and 1813, used to meet. I have it from a very old P.M. that it is properly the Atholl Rooms at the Maidenhead Inn in the Turl.

June, 1924.

W. T. COXHILL.

Freemason (1653 to 1656).—In vol. 7 of Canterbury Wills 1653-6,² published by the Record Society, the Wills for that period are indexed and a subsidiary index gives the occupations of Testators. During that period Eleven Testators were described as Freemasons and 41 as Masons. The occupation *Architect* does not appear. The eleven Freemasons were:—

Bancks (Banckes), Richd., citizen and freemason of London (Botolph, Aldgate). 1653, fo. 225.

Bury, Robert, freemason, Low Hundersfield, Rochdale, Lanc. 1654, fo. 132.

Crosley, Richard, free mason, the Fallowes, Whitley (Killington), Yorks. 1654. fo. 463.

Drew, William, Freemason, Batcombe, Somerset. 1655, fo. 475.

Frye, Hugh, son of Richard Frye, freemason, late of Stoke under Hamdon, Soms., deceased. 1653, fo. 344.

Holmes, Thomas, Freemason, Kings Lynn, Norfolk. 1656, fo. 344.

Hyde (Hide), Simon, Citizen and freemason of London (St. Michael, Bassishaw). 1653, fo. 218.

Lowdwell, John, Freemason, Maidstone, Kent. 1654, fo. 172.

Mason, William, free mason, Westminster, Middx. 1653, fo. 327.

Pickering (Pickeringe), Charles, Freemason, Dilworth, Lanc. 1654, fo. 132.

Sterne, William, Citizen and freemason of London, St. Saviour, Southwarke, Surrey. 1655, fo. 133.

W.Bro. Songhurst called my attention to a note in Conder's *Hole Craft*, p. 256, referring to a MS. copy of one of the Old Charges endorsed with a reference to the above-named Richard Banckes, who was Master of the Masons' Company in 1647.

It is interesting to observe the widespread distribution of these eleven names. Four are in or about London, two in Lancashire, one in Yorkshire, two in Somerset, one in Norfolk, and one in Kent. This distribution illustrates Dr. Plot's statement in his *Natural History of Staffordshire*, relating to the custom in that county "of admitting Men into the Society of Free-Masons,

¹ See Hawkins, *Two Old Oxford Lodges*, A.Q.C. xxii. (1909), 149, 199.

² A further list will be given for the period 1605-1629.

that in the moorelands of this County seems to be of greater request than anywhere else, though I find the Custom spread more or less all over the Nation." Not one of the eleven names is, however, in Staffordshire.

May, 1927.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

Workmen's Wages in 1563.—In the *English Historical Review*, April, 1926, there is an article on "Lambard's 'Eirenarcha' and a Kent Wage Assessment of 1563." A section is devoted to the "Rates of wages assessed there for all manner of Artificers Servantes and Labourers, by the Taske, day yeare, etc.," and includes on p. 272:—

	Master Freemason	{ Sommer: viij ^d . and meate; xiiij ^d . without Wynter: vj ^d . and meate; xj ^d . without
p. 271	Master Bricklayer	{ Sommer vj ^d . & meate
	Tylar or Sawier	{ Wynter x ^d . without meate
	The seconde Sorte of all	{ Somer: v ^d . and meate; ix ^d . without
	Artificers	{ meate Wynter: viiij ^d . without meate; and iiij ^d . with meate
	The best apprentice of an	{ Sommer: iiij ^d . with meate; vj ^d . without
	Artificer	{ Wynter: iiij ^d . with meate; vj ^d . without

E. H. DRING.

Nathaniel Blackerby.—I have come across the following in a book on Election Law published about 1764.

It appears that on 22nd Decr., 1741, Nathaniel Blackerby (and two others) were ordered to attend at the Bar of the House of Commons in relation to a complaint that soldiers had been employed in connection with an Election for Westminster. They confessed that they brought a body of armed soldiers and took possession of the Churchyard of St. Paul, Covent Garden, before the election.

On 23rd Jany., 1741 (O.S.) they were brought to the Bar and upon their knees reprimanded by Mr. Speaker as the House had directed and were ordered to be discharged, paying their fees. It was Resolved that the thanks of the House be given Mr. Speaker for the speech by him made upon reprimanding the said Nathaniel Blackerby, George Howard and Thomas Lediard and that he be desired to print same.

Contemporary reports of the incident are to be found in the *Impartial History of debates in Parliament* (published by B. Cowse in 1743) and in the *London Magazine* for 1741.

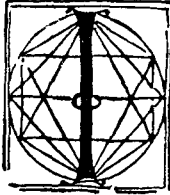
The Grand Jury made a presentation to the Court as to the grave offence committed by the three Justices, of whom Blackerby was one, in bringing on to the scene of the Westminster Election in St. Paul's Churchyard at Covent Garden a body of footguards or soldiers to the number of 50 or upwards headed by officers.

The Member who was returned as elected was unseated by the House of Commons.

Blackerby did not long survive the occurrence, for we read in the *London Magazine* for 1742 (page 257) of his death. The announcement reads thus:—"Nath. Blackerby Esq. Housekeeper to the House of Lords, Treasurer to the 50 New Churches, and to the New Bridge at Westminster, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for Westminster and Middlesex." Thus we find that three Freemasons took part in the affairs of the first Westminster Bridge, viz., Charles Labelye the Overseer; Dr. Desaguliers who was consulted as to certain structural questions which arose; and Nathaniel Blackerby as Treasurer.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Charles Anderson, of London, on 7th February, 1925. Bro. Anderson was a member of the St. George Lodge No. 1152, and the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1914.

Alfred Henry Bell, of Middleton, Lancs., on 10th February, 1925. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D. (E. Lancs.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Major **John Booth**, of Bolton, Lancs., on 12th March, 1925. Bro. Booth had held the office of Grand Treasurer in the Craft and R.A. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1889.

Gony Thomas Brown, of Socorro, N.M., U.S.A., on 15th January, 1925. Our Brother was a member of Lodge No. 9, and of the R.A. Chapter No. 8. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

Samuel William Callaghan, of Meerut, India, in August, 1924. Bro. Callaghan held the office of Dis.G.S.B., Punjab, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1906.

Lewis Birch Chesterton, of Johannesburg, on 30th September, 1924. Our Brother had held office as Dis.G.Sec. (Transvaal). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1891.

John Horatio Wilmot Davies, of London, in March, 1925. Bro. Davies had received the honour of London Rank, and was a member of the Britannic Chapter No. 33. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1918.

Neander Warburton Davies, of Ceylon. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in Grand Lodge and Past Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Chapter. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1905.

Harold Malcolm Duncan, of Philadelphia, in October, 1924. He was a member of Lodge No. 610, and was elected to our Correspondence Circle in January, 1913.

William Best Ferrier, of Cardiff, in 1921. Bro. Ferrier had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.J. (S. Wales, E. Div.) He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1907.

Harry Glassman, of Hull, on 8th February, 1925. Our Brother had held the office of Pr.G.W. and Pr.G.R. (R.A.) in N. & E. Yorks. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1906.

William Henry Holt, of Birkenhead, on 6th January, 1925. Bro. Holt had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W. (Cheshire), and was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1894.

James Marshall, of Falkirk, on 21st August, 1924. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 16, and P.Z. of Chapter No. 210. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

Thomas Morgan, of Hastings, N.Z., on 9th June, 1923. Bro. Morgan had attained the rank of P.G.W. in New Zealand, and P.H. in Napier Chapter. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1910.

James Powell, of London, on the 4th March, 1925. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar in Grand Lodge, and Past Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Chapter. He was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1911.

James Knight Simpson, of Bolton, Lancs., on 8th August, 1924. Bro. Simpson had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.S. (R.A.) in E. Lancs. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

George Frederick Speer, of Upminster, on 14th July, 1924. Our Brother was I.G. of the Kent Lodge No. 15, and A.So., of the Chapter attached thereto. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1921.

John Lloyd Thomas, of New York, in early 1925. Bro. Thomas had held office as Dis.Dep.G.M., and was a member of Chapter No. 8. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1903.

William Thomas Thomson, of St. Kilda, Australia, in December, 1924. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 29 (Vic.C.), and a member of Chapter No. 7. He was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1919.

Harry Tipper, of London, on 22nd December, 1924. Bro. Tipper had attained the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1889.

Robert Turton, of Harrogate, on 22nd January, 1925. Our Brother was a member of Goderich Lodge No. 1211. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1911.

Thomas Weller-Poley, of Chichester, on 29th December, 1924. Bro. Weller-Poley had held the office of Dep.Pr.G.M. in Sussex, was a Past Grand Deacon in Grand Lodge, and a Past Assistant Grand Sojourner in Grand Chapter. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1906.

FRIDAY, 1st MAY, 1925.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., I.P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., S.W.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; Rev. H. Poole, J.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M., as I.G.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. C. Stoaate, J. Toon, P.G.S.B., Wm. C. Terry, F. P. Reynolds, F. Lace, J. Walter Hobbs, C. H. Hett, Chas. J. Laker, W. J. Williams, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., D. Warliker, F. Fighiera, P.A.G.D.C., F. J. Asbury, A. E. Gurney, Thos. Tose, G. W. South, H. E. Miller, Major-Gen. Sir John Headlam, P.G.D., B. Telepneff, E. Glaeser, G. S. Shepherd-Jones, Albert D. Bowl, Wm. Lewis, F. Bare, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., E. Fiander Etchells, K. E. Eckenstein, W. E. A. Candy, W. T. J. Gun, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., W. Geoghegan, P. J. Sadleir, Arthur Heiron, J. H. Morton, H. A. Matheson, P. F. Jolly, P.Pro G.M., W.Australia, T. J. Price, R. Cromptley Davies, Geo. C. Williams, F. W. Le Tall, H. Johnson, B. Ivanoff, P. Green, J. Ingram Moar, A. N. Tyte, C. F. Sykes, W. Brinkworth and W. Stubbings.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. W. W. Warr, Doric Lodge No. 90 (N.S.W.C.); R. G. Kerr, Marble Craft Lodge No. 3522; C. E. Ford, P.M., Earl of Lathom Lodge No. 1922; E. Pontis Lines, P.M., Shadwell Clerke Lodge No. 1910; Gurney P. Jones, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661; F. Wetherell, Erin Lodge No. 2895; E. P. Peter, Edward Latymer Lodge No. 3994; Harold W. Horan, Albany Lodge No. 151; J. S. Anderson, I.G., Earl of Carnarvon Lodge No. 102 (V.C.); and Aug. Baumann, Nordstjernen Lodge.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.

Two Lodges and Twenty-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

A Vote of Congratulation was accorded to the following members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who received Honours at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—F. P. S. Cresswell, M.B., F.R.C.S., and John W. H. Eyre, M.D., Junior Grand Deacons; Sir George King, C. J. R. Tijou, E. W. Keating, and David Myles, Past Grand Deacons; Gordon P. G. Hills, Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; F. R. Ridley and F. H. Doughty, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; R. H. Baxter and J. Allon Tucker, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; W. F. Keddell, F. Thomas Beck, John Palmer, and C. J. Watts, Past Grand Standard Bearers; Harold A. Caslon and Capt. S. L. Macwatt, D.S.O., Grand Stewards.

The SECRETARY called attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. J. T. THORP.

APRON, leather; about 13in. broad and 10in. deep; lower part semi-circular; small triangular flap; the whole edged with red ribbed silk ribbon. On the flap is a five-pointed irradiated star. The design on the body and flap of the Apron is all hand drawn and coloured, and it includes the Sun and Moon, a cord with tassels from which hang a plumb rule, Compasses with Square, and Level; Skull and Cross-bones with 9 'tears'; the letters M.B.; the branch of a tree; and three stars at bottom. The tools shewn are not of the usual English form, and the Apron is no doubt of Continental origin. It is much faded, and the ribbon shews considerable signs of wear. On the body underneath the flap is written Y (perhaps Fr.) M. Ragnald, 1743. These figures are in a different ink, and probably are not intended to indicate the actual date of the Apron.

By Bro. G. C. WILLIAMS.

TWO SASHES, Modern make, probably French.

By Bro. E. H. DRING.

Original MS. of part of Stukeley's Diary.

By Bro. W. WONNACOTT.

Prints of Hogarth's "Man of Taste."

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS read the following paper:—

ALEXANDER POPE AND FREEMASONRY.

A DISCURSIVE ESSAY.

BY BROTHER W. J. WILLIAMS.



HERE are certain persons of whom it may well be said that they ought to be Freemasons; but there is another class who would hardly give occasion for such an expression. Among this latter class many of us would include Alexander Pope, the renowned poet—the bitter satirist—the recluse of Twickenham.

He was born on 21st May, 1688, in Lombard Street, in the City of London, and died at Twickenham on 30th May, 1744. Thus his life period covers what is perhaps the most interesting era of English Freemasonry.

His parents were Roman Catholics, and on his death bed he was ministered to by a priest of that body. During his lifetime he had some difficulty in convincing interested persons that he was true to the Roman Catholic doctrines. His *Essay on Man*, prompted by and dedicated to a deistic writer (Henry St. John Lord Bolingbroke), had cast the shadow of well grounded doubts on this. Warburton wrote to Dr. Stukeley on January 1st, 1740, that the infidels and libertines prided themselves in thinking Mr. Pope of their party, but Pope disclaimed them.

In the eighteenth century it was, however, no rare thing for a Roman Catholic to be a Freemason. Indeed several distinguished Freemasons were professed Roman Catholics. One instance will suffice.

The Duke of Norfolk (nominated as the most Noble Prince Thomas Duke of Norfolk first peer of England) was Grand Master in 1730. His Coat of Arms, richly emblazoned, appears at the commencement of Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 2, and is reproduced in *facsimile* in *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., of which it forms the frontispiece.

He gave this Minute Book to the Grand Lodge together with a "most noble present" of a Sword of State. This sword is now in the Grand Lodge Museum, but it is not there merely as a curiosity. It is still carried as a Sword of State before the officiating Grand Master in all processions.

It was not until the year 1738 that Pope Clement XII. published his Bull against Freemasons. The mere fact of a Papal Bull being published is not, however, sufficient of itself. It must be promulgated in the various countries where it is desired to enforce it, and until so promulgated the members of the Roman Catholic body are not deemed to be bound by it. Thus it came about that for many years Protestants and Roman Catholics openly met together in Masonic Lodges and were in perfect harmony. This was specially the case in Ireland.

The aforesaid Bull was ultimately promulgated in England towards the end of the eighteenth century.

That Alexander Pope the poet was a Freemason appears to be established to a great degree of probability.

In the Grand Lodge Minutes (printed in *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, vol. x., at p. 147) begins a "List of the Names of the Members of all the regular Lodges as they were returned in the year 1730. The Rt. Honble Thomas Lord Lovell being then Grand Master." As a matter of fact Lord Lovell did not become Grand Master until 27th March, 1731 (*Q.C.A.* x., 203).

At page 156 of the same volume the names are given of the members of the Lodge meeting at the

Goat at the Foot of the Hay Market;

and among these names appears that of "Mr. Alexr. Pope." His name is followed (after six intervening names) by that of "Mr. John Swift."

Our late and most accomplished Brother Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, in his Introductory Chapter to Bro. Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations* (published 1898), brings forward certain evidence which approaches demonstration that these two are, respectively, the celebrated poet whose name appears at the head of this paper, and the no less celebrated Dr. Jonathan Swift, the Dean of St. Patrick's, his intimate friend.

These two, in conjunction with Dr. John Arbuthnot (who died 27th February, 1734-5), also a Freemason, formed a literary triumvirate and brotherhood the like of which can hardly be matched in the annals of Freemasonry or literature.

As Bro. Chetwode Crawley writes: "They had formed in 1714 the Martinus Scriblerus Club, and pointedly addressed each other as Brother."

Further, an edition dated 1765 (and doubtless earlier editions) of the Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, vol. iv., consists of

Miscellanies in Prose by Dr. Swift, Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Pope.

It is to be observed that the inclusion of Pope's name in the 1730 List gives no indication of the date when he and the other persons there named were made Masons. It only establishes that, at some time, prior to the compilation of the list, their initiation had taken place. The name of Arbuthnot appears in the 1725 List, which is also printed in *Q.C.A.* x. (see p. 27) in the list of members of the Lodge meeting at the "Bedford Head, Covent Garden."

The Lodge of which Alexr. Pope was a member met (as before stated) at the Goat at the foot of the Haymarket, but it appears from Lane's *Masonic Records* that it only removed thither in 1730. The Lodge was, in fact, constituted on 3rd April, 1723, and met from 1723, until its removal, at the Red Lion, Tottenham Court Road. It was finally erased on 21st November, 1745, about eighteen months after Pope's death.

In the 1723 List (*Q.C.A.* x., p. 20) there appears a list of members of the Lodge meeting at the Red Lion in Tottenham Court Road, but the names of Pope and Swift are not included in that list, and the same remark applies to the 1725 List (*Q.C.A.* x., p. 36). This 1723 List is regarded as being the most complete and accurate of the three. The fact of the non-appearance of the names of Pope and Swift in the 1723 and 1725 Lists of their Lodge indicates the probability that they were not Freemasons, or, at any rate, not members of any regular Lodge when those lists were compiled. The 1723 List contains only eleven names of members of that Lodge, and of these only Richard Stone and John Barnes appear in both lists; assuming that Rich: Stone and Jno. Barnes named in the 1723 List are the same persons as Richard Stone and John Barnes named in the 1730 List.

Evidently in those days there were numbers of short term Masons (so far as active membership of a particular Lodge is concerned) and the membership lists were of a very fluctuating nature. A further instance of this will appear later in this essay.

Dr. Arbuthnot, for instance, is only named in the 1725 List. The Bedfords Head Lodge, of which he was a member, does not appear to have existed, as such, after 1725, as it does not figure in any of the Engraved Lists of Lodges after that year.

Having regard to the very close connection of Arbuthnot with Pope and Swift and the fact that Arbuthnot's Lodge came to an end in or soon after 1725, it is somewhat odd that he did not join the same Lodge as that of which Pope and Swift were members. None of the Records of either Lodge are known to be extant. It may, however, be noted in passing that in his Second Satire (Warne, p. 298) Pope writes:—

I'll have a party at the Bedford-head;

and in a footnote by Pope it is described as "a famous eating house." Thus Pope may have been there in company with Arbuthnot.

In a letter from Trumbull to Pope dated 6th March, 1713, Trumbull warns Pope, for the sake of preserving his health, and begs him earnestly, to get out of Tavern Company.

Pope was introduced by Wycherley to London Society at Will's Coffee House (Elwin & Courthope v., 77), and he was also a member of Button's Coffee House (established by Addison), E. & C. v., 80.

It is not proposed in this paper to deal further with the connection between Arbuthnot, Swift, and Pope. Arbuthnot and Swift have each been dealt with by previous writers, and they demand separate treatment.

This paper is to some extent written on the assumption that our Poet is the Alexr. Pope named in the Lodge List. Dr. Crawley, however, very fairly states (at p. xviii. of his Introductory Chapter) that there was at least one other individual named Alexander Pope in what he calls our Augustan age. One Alexander Pope travelled from Caithness and visited Pope at Twickenham in 1732. Nor can it be proved that Dean Swift was in London after 1727. Stella died in 1728, and this greatly affected Swift mentally. After her death he never again left Ireland (*vide* Dicty. N.B.).

It is clear then that the fact of Pope being a Roman Catholic is not any objection to his being a Freemason, because we have already seen that in 1730 (the very year in which the name Alexr. Pope figures in the list before referred to) the Grand Master himself was a Roman Catholic. Indeed this may be regarded as additional evidence in support of Pope being of the Craft, and may very well have been a reason for his seeking initiation, as he might desire to do honour to his co-religionist. This also may account for the apparent improbability of a man of Pope's physical weakness becoming a Freemason. His weakness was such that he could not even dress himself—he was never wholly free from pain—"his life was one long disease," as he himself says in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, to whom he professed himself as indebted for "the preservation of his being." Not exactly the sort of man you would expect to meet at a Tavern at the foot of the Haymarket.

But then again it may be said that Pope's references to Freemasonry and Freemasons (such as they are) are by no means laudatory. The same remark, however, may be made regarding Hogarth, who was undoubtedly a Freemason, and yet did not hesitate (in an engraving dated 1738 engraved by himself) to depict an eminent Mason in the public street attired in his Apron and in a state of intoxication. See the Article by Bro. W. H. Rylands on Hogarth's picture "Night" (*A.Q.C.*, vol. ii.).¹

Further the Mock Masonry procession of 1741 is stated in *A.Q.C.* (vol. xviii., p. 135) to have been organised (in conjunction with Paul Whitehead) by Brother Esquire Carey, who was one of the Grand Stewards, and for whom a prominent place had been reserved in the genuine official procession of March for 1740.

Pope shares with Shakespeare the honour of quotation in the Ceremonies of "Pure Antient Masonry." As to Shakespeare there is the phrase concerning

¹ It would be interesting to know what his Masonic Brethren thought and said concerning Hogarth's worse than coarse cartoon, "The Mystery of Freemasons brought to light by the Gormagons."

Charity that it, like its sister Mercy, blesses him who gives as well as him who receives.

That is not an exact quotation; but, in another place, Pope is literally quoted, the passage being taken from *The Universal Prayer*:—

Father of all! in ev'ry age,
In every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.

This poem of universality was written in 1738, after the *Essay on Man*, which was written in 1732. It may therefore be possible that Pope's mind on the question of Universality was influenced by his Masonic tuition.

Having regard to the unmerciful castigation Pope bestowed in his *Dunciad* on many persons, some of whom had done him no harm, the Poet Cowper, in a letter to Samuel Rose dated 8 Aug., 1789, suggests that the last two lines of this verse in the Universal Prayer:

Teach me to feel another's woe
To hide the fault I see,
That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me.

was a somewhat hazardous petition to be uttered by Pope.

It may here be mentioned in passing that Pope's essay on Man and his Moral Essays, are based upon a foundation of Faith no more definite than the irreducible minimum which appears in the celebrated Ancient Charge I. "Concerning GOD and RELIGION."

In Elwin & Courthope's *Life of Pope*, vol. v., 80, it is said as to Pope: "His religion prevented him from hoping for any state employment: he had suffered from the bigotry of religious party spirit in consequence of his Essay on Criticism; his taste was repugnant to politics and his moralising temper made him inclined to take up an independent position." "I confess," he writes to Caryll, "I scorn narrow souls of all parties, and if I renounce my reason in religious matters, I will never do it in any other affair."

It seems clear that the principles of Craft Freemasonry as to the exclusion of discussions concerning Religion and Politics would have some considerable attraction for a man holding such views.

It is interesting to note that a distinguished Brother who, presumably, did not know that Pope was a Freemason, utilised the writings of Pope to exemplify the great principle of modern English Freemasonry.

In the *Freemason's Magazine* for 6th April, 1861, is a letter signed "Charles Purton Cooper" (who was a "Queen's Counsel and had been Provincial Grand Master for Kent from 1853 to 1860) in which he records a conversation with one of Garibaldi's Hungarian Hussars, and proceeds:—"He soon made it known to me that he was a Freemason, and a conversation interesting to us both, in consequence, ensued, but which was brought to a sudden close by my arrival at the place of my destination. He had just asked how I accounted for *Charity* having become the great principle of modern English Freemasonry; and in alighting I promised an answer in . . . the *Freemason's Magazine* . . . My answer to our brother is, "the universality of charity, both as regards duty and practice.

"First, as regards duty. Charity is enjoined by natural religion. The obligation affects all, independently of the particular faith or creed, be it true or be it untrue:—

In faith and hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is Charity.

"Next as regards practice. Charity has for its objects all the inhabitants of our earth:—

Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace;
 His country next; and next all human race.
 Is this [thy neighbour's blessing] too little for the boundless heart?
 Extend it, let thy enemies have part;
 Grasp the whole worlds of reason, life, and sense,
In one close system of benevolence.

"As the Magazine has many foreign readers, it may not be superfluous
 "to mention that all the lines cited are from Pope's *Essay on Man*.

"A fuller knowledge of the foundation upon which, as I conceive, our
 "flourishing and beneficent institution is built, would not fail to have a useful
 "result both in German and French lodges.

"Faternally yours,

"Chas. Purton Cooper.

"March 20. 1861."

(The passages quoted are in the 3rd and 4th Epistles of Pope's *Essay on Man*. See Warne's Edition, pages 217 and 228).

The fact of Pope's connection with Freemasonry gives interest to any reference or apparent allusions in his writings to the Craft, or its members, or matters connected with the Craft.

The first reference we shall make deals with the character of Philip Duke of Wharton who was Grand Master 1722-3. (The page numbers refer to the volume in Warne's edition of Pope, as that appears to be the edition most widely circulated.):—

Moral Essays:—

Essay 1, pages 238-239 (published 1731).

III.

Search then the ruling passion,—there, alone
 The wild are constant, and the cunning known;
 The fool consistent, and the false sincere;
 Priests, princes, women, no dissemblers here.
 This clue once found unravels all the rest,—
 The prospect clears and Wharton stands confessed.
 Wharton! the scorn and wonder of our days,
 Whose ruling passion was the lust of praise;
 Born with whate'er could win it from the wise,
 Women and fools must like him, or he dies;
 Though wond'ring senates hung on all he spoke,
 The club must hail him master of the joke.
 Shall parts so various aim at nothing new?
 He'll shine a Tully and a Wilmot too.
 Then turns repentant and his God adores
 With the same spirit that he drinks and w———;
 Enough if all around him but admire,—
 And now the punk applaud and now the friar.
 Thus with each gift of nature and of art,
 And wanting nothing but an honest heart;
 Grown all to all, from no one vice exempt,
 And most contemptible to shun contempt,
 His passion still to covet general praise;
 His life to forfeit it a thousand ways;
 A constant bounty, which no friend has made;
 An angel tongue which no man can persuade;
 A fool with more of wit than half mankind,—
 Too rash for thought, for action too refined;
 A tyrant to the wife his heart approves;
 A rebel to the very King he loves;

He dies, sad outcast of each Church and State
 And, harder still! flagitious, yet not great.
 Ask you, why Wharton broke through every rule?
 'Twas all for fear the knaves should call him fool.
 Nature well known no prodigies remain,—
 Comets are regular, and Wharton plain.

page 254 (Essay 3).

P. What riches give us let us then inquire:
 Meat fire and clothes. B. What more? P. Meat, clothes and fire.
 Is this too little? Would you more than live?
 Alas! 'tis more than Turner finds they give.
 Alas! 'tis more than (all his visions pass'd)
 Unhappy Wharton, waking, found at last.

A note in Warne's edition, page 238, runs thus:—"Philip Duke of Wharton born 1698 died a monk in Spain 1731. His eccentric and dissipated career rendered him remarkable. He was towards the end of his life attached to the Court of the Pretender." The description given of him by Pope confirms the general view that Wharton was by no means an ornament to the Masonic Society. The fact that he was President of the Hell Fire Club may be linked up with the line just quoted: "The Club must hail him Master of the Joke."

His exit from British Freemasonry was of a somewhat tempestuous character, as appears from the Grand Lodge Minutes. His name is intimately associated with Dr. Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* (edn. 1723), but in Bro. Vibert's paper on that edition certain observations are made to the effect that in the 1738 edition of the *Constitutions* Dr. Anderson attempted to discount the weight of that connection.

The next extract is from the epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, being the Prologue to the Satires (pages 280-281):—

Whom have I hurt? Has poet yet or peer
 Lost the arched eyebrow, or Parnassian sneer?
 And has not Colly still his lord and w——?
 His butchers Henly? his freemasons Moore?

Bowles note on this is:—"This alludes to Henley, commonly called Orator Henley, who declaimed on Sundays on religious subjects, and on Wednesdays on the sciences. His oratory was among the butchers in Newport Market and Butcher Row. Moore has been already named. He often headed Masonic processions."

Warburton has a shorter note to the same effect (see Elwin & Courthope's *Pope*, vol. iii., 248).

Colly is the well known Colley Cibber.

As to Henley, his connection with Freemasonry is of a doubtful character, but, such as it is, the facts and assertions concerning it are set forth in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxix., page 368 *et seq.*, in an article by our late Bro. Hextall. Pope makes several other references to Henley. Henley for his part wrote a nasty attack on Pope of which a copy is in the British Museum.

Little appears, however, to be recorded in Masonic publications concerning Moore. His name occurs in two other places in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot.

He is the same person as the James Smythe (or Smith) whose name so frequently appears in the Grand Lodge Minutes. The index to *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., has no less than fourteen references to him. He first appears in the 1730 List (p. 177) as "Jas. Smythe Esq. G. Warden," being then a member of the Lodge meeting at the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher Row. He was also named as a Warden of the University Lodge (p. 182), and of the Lodge at the Castle in

Highgate (p. 186). He was Warden in 1731 under Visct. Montague (G.M.), and again in 1732 under the Earl of Strathmore. In 1731 his name is written Smyth, and in 1732 Smythe, but the variation in spelling does not mar identity.

On 8th June, 1732, trouble arose in Grand Lodge on a complaint by the Stewards against Bro. Lewis who had been employed "as an attendant upon them at the last Grand Feast, and more particularly had intrusted him to lock up and take care of Thirty Dishes of Meat, which were destined for the Grand Master and other persons of Quality and Distinction when the Business of the Grand Lodge was over, But [oh! hideous But] But that the said Bro. Lewis by his Carlessness and neglect had suffer'd the same to be embezled and carryed away by People who had no manner of Right to the same; and when the Stewards called him to Account for such his Misbehavior; He answered insolently, and instead of extenuating his Fault, aggravated the same in a very provoking manner"; etc., etc.

I must refrain from further copying the Minutes of this tragic incident, but it leads up to the record that, after discussion, an offer to forgive on terms was made "Whereupon Br. Smyth, Junior Grand Warden and one of the Stewards declared that the Stewards would be Satisfyed if Bro. Lewis would make such Acknowledgement, and promise, to behave in a more carefull and decent manner for the future."

Thereupon Br. Lewis asked pardon, expressed contrition, and promised amendment. (See pages 220, 221, *Q.C.A.* x.)

Smythe was present as G. Warden (coupled with James Anderson D.D. for George Rook Esqr.) at a Quarterly Communication held at the Devil Tavern on 21st November, 1732, and then "observed that the Number of Lodges are so very much encreased that in his Opinion some Restraint ought to be put upon making any more unless such Lodge to be hereafter Constituted should pay to the General Charity Five Guineas; But it being very late the further consideration of this Affair was deferred to the next Grand Lodge" (u.s., 222, 223).

Nothing seems to have been done on that deferred business at the next Quarterly Communication held at the same place on 29th May, 1733, although "James Smythe Esqr. Junr. G.W." was there.

The remaining relevant entries on pages 231 and 238 record Smythe's "Election" as Senior Grand Warden on 7th June, 1733, and his attendance in that capacity on 18th March, 1734.

Pope in his *Dunciad*, published 28th May, 1728, had fallen foul of "More" (who is said by Curl in his "Key to the Dunciad" to be the said James Moore Smythe), and according to that poem Smythe must have been a ponderous personality:—

. . . gentle Dulness ever loves a joke.
A poets form she placed before their eyes,
And bade the nimblest racer seize the prize;
No meagre muse rid mope, adust and thin
In a due night-gown of his own loose skin;
But such a bulk as no twelve bards could raise,
Twelve starvling bards of these degenerate days.
All as a partridge plump full-fed and fair,
She formed this image of well-bodied air;
With pert flat eyes she windowed well its head;
A brain of feathers and a heart of lead;
And empty words she gave, and sounding strain,
But senseless, lifeless! idol void and vain!
Never was dashed out at one lucky hit,
A fool, so just a copy of a wit;
So like, that critics said, and courtiers swore,
A wit it was, and called the phantom More.

(*Dunciad*, Book ii. Warne, p. 141.)

From this description one can better appreciate Smythe's agony on finding that those thirty specially reserved "Dishes of Meat" had been silently stolen away.

The source of the trouble between Pope and Smythe seems to have been an alleged plagiarism by Smythe, who was a dramatist to the extent of having written one play which was produced, and who appropriated a few lines from Pope without acknowledgment.

No one would accuse Pope of an excess of brotherly feeling in his references to James Moore Smythe. Nor would one form a high estimate of Freemasons from the fact that Smythe's name was coupled with them and that they were called "his Freemasons."

According to the *D.N.B.*, James Moore Smythe was the Son of Arthur Moore. He was born in 1702, and died in 1734. He was a fellow of All Soul's College, Oxford. His grandfather, William Smythe, left him the bulk of his property on his death in 1720 on condition that he assumed the additional surname of Smythe. This he did in 1728, having obtained an Act of Parliament for the purpose.

Smythe died at Whitton (near Twickenham) on 18th October, 1734. He was then in reduced circumstances. Shortly before Smythe's death Pope inserted an advertisement in the *Grub Street Journal* beginning thus:—"Whereas J.M.S. a tall modest young man with yellowish teeth a sallow complexion and a flattish eye shaped somewhat like an Italian." In Elwin & Courthope's Edition of *Pope*, vol. iv., pp. 442,3, are three epigrams and one epitaph on Smythe which do Pope no credit either as a poet or a man, much less a Mason.

The Epitaph runs thus:—

Here lies what had nor birth nor shape nor fame
No gentleman! no man! no-thing! no name!
For Jamie ne'er grew James; and what they call
More shrunk to Smith—and Smith's no name at all.
Yet die thou canst not, phantom oddly fated:
For how can no-thing be annihilated?

Ex nihilo nihil fit.

It has been also suggested that Pope's animosity to Moore arose from jealousy on the surmise that Moore had made more progress in the affections of Teresa Blount than Pope had achieved.

Moore's literary product was so small that the repeated attacks on him by Pope were wholly out of proportion to any distaste which Pope might have had for him on literary grounds. Perhaps Pope thought Moore had said something about Pope's parentage which aroused, if it did not justify, such resentment. Thus in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot (Prologue to the Satires) Pope wrote:—

That father held it for a rule,
It was a sin to call our neighbour fool
That harmless mother thought no wife a ——
Hear this, and spare his family, James Moore!

Perhaps the finest trait in Pope's character was the great reverence he always had for his parents. His mother died in 1733, aged ninety-three, a few weeks after those lines were written.

The *Dunciad* (iv., 571, page 186) also contains the following lines:—

Some, deep Free Masons, join the silent race
Worthy to fill Pythagoras's place:
Some botanists or florists at the least,
Or issue members of an annual feast.
Nor past the meanest unregarded, one
Rose a Gregoriau, one a Gormogon.

A footnote by Pope explains Gormogon as "A sort of lay brothers, slips from the roots of the Free Masons."

The goddess of Dulness is in the context depicted as conferring these dignities upon her subjects. Thus neither Freemasons, Gregorians nor Gormogons had any special reason for regarding Pope with affection on account of his references to them.

Pope and Warburton's note in the edition of 1742 on the passage is:—"The Poet all along expresses a very particular concern for this silent race. He has here provided that in case they will not waken or open (as was before proposed) to a humming bird or a cockle yet at worst they may be made Freemasons where taciturnity is the only essential qualification as it was the chief of the disciples of Pythagoras."

The *Dunciad* was, or purports to have been, published first in Dublin, probably by arrangement between Pope and Swift, to the latter of whom it is dedicated. Arbuthnot added several pompous notes under the names of various authors.

A burlesque license headed "By Authority" begins with words which have a familiar sound in the ears of Freemasons:—

By virtue of the authority in us vested;

but it would not be safe to affirm that the phrase in question, which is occasionally used by Masters desirous of saving time, was adopted from Pope. It is merely a case of verbal coincidence.

The *Dunciad* in the Invocation in Book iv., lines 3 and 4 (Warne's edition, p. 168) also contains an expression which reminds us of what is sometimes said as to the light of a Master Mason and a mysterious veil:—

Of darkness visible so much be lent
As half to show, half veil the deep intent.

Is it not probable that in the Ceremony indicated the phrases referred to were adapted from Pope's poem which, as before stated, was first published in 1727?

In this connection it must, however, not be forgotten that Milton, in *Paradise Lost*, Book i., lines 62, *et seq.*, has this sentence:—

. yet from those flames
No light but rather darkness visible
Serv'd only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all;

And again we find a matter of Masonic interest in the fact that the Four Cardinal Virtues are thus exhibited in the *Dunciad*, Book i. (Warne's edition, p. 128):—

In clouded majesty here Dulness shone;
Four guardian virtues round, support her throne.
Fierce champion Fortitude, that knows no fears
Of hisses, blows or want, or loss of ears:
Calm Temperance, whose blessings those partake
Who hunger and who thirst for scribbling's sake;
Prudence, whose glass presents th' approaching jail;
Poetic Justice, with her lifted scale,
Where in nice balance, truth with gold she weighs
And solid pudding against empty praise.

But why should these guardian virtues be displayed as supporting the throne of Dulness? Perhaps Pope was of the opinion, which has been by someone expressed, that Virtue is a dull thing.

The Seven Sciences are also referred to in *Moral Essays* (Epistle iv., line 44):—

Good sense, which only is the gift of Heaven,
And though no science, fairly worth the seven.

It may also be noted that in *Moral Essays* (Epistle iv.) addressed to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, that nobleman is exhorted in the following language, which reminds us of the unmitigated laudation of the Classic style of Architecture to be found in Anderson's *Constitutions*:—

You too proceed! make falling arts your care,
Erect new wonders, and the old repair;
Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,
And be whate'er Vitruvius was before:
Till King's call forth the ideas of your mind,
(Proud to accomplish what such hands designed)
Bid harbours open, public ways extend,
Bid temples, worthier of the God, ascend.

The foregoing allusions have for the most part arisen from references by Pope in his writings to matters Masonic. The *Dunciad* itself, however, affords further material for investigation in that it contains references to other persons who were Freemasons, although it does not associate their doings with Freemasonry.

The *Dunciad* had as its original hero Lewis Theobald, who was born in 1688 and died in 1744.

This Lewis Theobald was a Brother in the Craft. His name appears three times in the Grand Lodge Minutes comprised in *Q.C.A.* x.

At page 237, under date 13th December, 1733:—"The Grand Master (the Earl of Strathmore) recommended to the Brethren Br. Theobald's Play and desired that they should all come clothed."

At page 272, under date 15th April, 1736, the Earl of Loudoun having then been invested as Grand Master, "Lewis Theobalds Esqr" was named as a Steward for the ensuing year.

At page 287, under date 28th April, 1737, the Earl of Darnley having on that day been placed in the Chair and invested, "Bro. Lewis Theobalds chose as his successor Bro. William Popple. Esqr."

These items appear to contain the whole of the official knowledge we have as to the Masonic career of Bro. Lewis Theobald or Theobalds.

Brother Pope had been stirred to action by reason of Theobald having not only dared to criticise the work of Pope in an edition of Shakespeare which Pope had edited, but also because Theobald (whom he calls Tibbald) had himself ventured an edition of Shakespeare without consulting Pope.

The Prefatory Memoir in Warne's edition, page xvii., sums up the matter thus:—"In the same year (1721) Pope produced an edition of Shakespeare. In this he was thought to have failed and never it is said, reflected "on it afterwards without vexation.

"Theobald, a heavy dull man, but industrious, published a book called "Shakespeare Restored" in which he pointed out the poet-editor's deficiencies "with great insolence."

In his *Essay on Bathos* Pope had singled out Theobald's writings for his animadversions before the *Dunciad* was published.

So it is not surprising that when the *Dunciad* came out in 1728 the first edition of it gave prominence to Theobald. Apparently Pope concluded that it was a pity to waste all his splenetic fancy on one man, so in later editions Colley Cibber was pilloried in lieu of Theobald.

The prefatory note to the *Dunciad* (Warne, p. 126) states that the piece has been revised: "where finding the style and appellation of King to have "been given to a certain pretender, pseudo-poet, or phantom of the name of "Tibbald, and apprehending the same may be in some sort a reflection on

“majesty, or at least an insult on that legal authority which has bestowed on another person the crown of poesy, We have ordered the said pretender pseudo-poet or phantom, utterly to vanish and evaporate out of this work: And do declare the said throne of poesy from henceforth to be abdicated and vacant unless duly and lawfully supplied by the laureate himself.” Hence we now read (Warne, page 131) of Dulness:—

In each she marks her image full exprest,
But chief in Bays’s monster-breeding breast:
Bays, formed by nature stage and town to bless,
And act, and be, a coxcomb with success.

(Bays is the name given to Colley Cibber who was at the time Poet Laureate.) The first edition, however, ran thus (see Elwin & Courthope, vol. iv., p. 273, where is a reprint of the first edition of the *Dunciad*):—

In each she marks her image full exprest
But chief in Tibbald’s monster breeding breast
Sees Gods with Daemons in strange league engage
And earth and heaven and hell her battels wage.

She ey’d the Bard where supperless he sate
And pin’d unconscious of his rising fate;
Studious he sate with all his books around
Sinking from thought to thought, a vast profound!
Plung’d for his sense but found no bottom there:
Then writ and flounder’d on, in mere despair,
He roll’d his eyes that witness’d huge dismay
Where yet unpawn’d much learned lumber lay
Volumes whose size the space exactly fill’d.

The poem then proceeds to depict the hero as burning his books.

The poverty of the Bard and the pangs felt by him in burning his books were not inapplicable to the circumstances of Theobald, but were far from being appropriate as portraiture or caricature of Colley Cibber, who was neither poverty stricken nor a devotee of old and archæological books.

It is said of the description of Theobald in the *Dunciad* that it is truly poetical and the vivacity and humour of the satire are best measured by the fact that it inspired Hogarth’s picture of the distressed poet.

Not that Pope in subsequent editions ejected Tibbald from the Pantheon of the *Dunciad*. The following lines bear witness that Pope’s sentiments had not undergone a violent change.

Dunciad (i., 133), page 131 Warne:—

There hapless Shakespeare, yet of Tibbald sore
Wished he had blotted for himself before;

and again

Dunciad (i., 286), Warne 137:—

How with less reading than makes felons scape,
Less human genius than God gives an ape;
Small thanks to France, and none to Rome or Greece,
A vast, vamped, future, old, revived, new piece,
’Twixt Plautus, Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Corneille,
Can make a Cibber, Tibbald, or Ozell.

Further in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, being the Prologue to the Satires (published after 1739), Pope thus relieves his feelings concerning Tibbald (Warne, p. 283):—

Did some more sober critic come abroad;
If wrong, I smiled; if right, I kissed the rod.

(This kissing must, however, have been done in sublime secrecy).

Pains, reading, study, are their just pretence,
 And all they want is spirit, taste, and sense.
 Commas and points they set exactly right
 And 'twere a sin to rob them of their mite.
 Yet ne'er one sprig of laurel graced these ribalds,
 From slashing Bentley down to pidling Tibalds;
 Each wight, who reads not, and but scans and spells,
 Each word-catcher, that lives on syllables,
 Even such small critic some regard may claim
 Preserved in Milton's or in Shakespeare's name.
 Pretty! in amber to observe the forms
 Of hairs, or straws, or dirt, or grubs, or worms!
 The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
 But wonder how the devil they got there.

It may perhaps be mentioned that Bentley had edited, or rather distorted, Milton. Thus Shakespeare's name is left to be coupled with Tibald.

Apparently Theobald survived Pope's fulminations and was never one penny the worse. Nor did Pope's animadversions prejudicially affect Theobald's Masonic progress, since we find that in 1733 the Grand Master recommended Theobald's play to the Brethren and in 1736 he became a Steward.

Pope's Lodge does not appear to have been represented at the Quarterly Communication on 13th December, 1733, consequently the Grand Master's message may not have been passed on to Pope.

Bro. Songhurst's note on page 237 of *Q.C.A.* is here transcribed as it conveniently summarises the position:—"Lewis Theobald (1688-1744) playwright and Shakespearean Critic. The publication of his pamphlet *Shakespeare Restored, or specimens of blunders committed and unamended in Pope's edition of this poet*, drew a retaliation from Pope who made him the original hero of the *Dunciad*. Theobald's play 'Apollo and Daphne' was running at Covent Garden about this time, being subsequently transferred to the Haymarket. In some advertisements it is styled 'A Dramatic entertainment of Dancing,' and in others 'A grotesque Pantomime.' His edition of Shakespeare, published in 1733, is generally considered to be the best work of the early modern school."

Other Freemasons named in the *Dunciad* are:—

Mr. CIBBER JUNR. He was a member of the Lodge at the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher Row, now St. George's and Corner Stone No. 5. (See *Q.C.A.* x., p. 178.)

See *Dunciad* iii., 139 (Warne, 159):—

Not with less glory mighty Dulness crowned
 Shall take through Grub Street her triumphant round,
 And her Parnassus dancing o'er at once
 Behold an hundred sons, and each a dunce.
 Mark first that youth who takes the foremost place,
 And thrusts his person full into your face.
 With all thy father's virtues blest, be born!
 And a new Cibber shall the stage adorn.

The note on this is:—"Cibber's son Theophilus. He wrote a ballad opera called 'Pattie and Peggy.'"

He is also named in the Epilogue to the Satires, Dialogue i., line 116:—

Ye Gods! shall Cibber's son without rebuke,
 Swear like a lord, etc.

In Elwin & Courthope's edition, vol. iv., 343, is this note:—"He refers to the shameless Theophilus Cibber. The justice of the Satire received a striking illustration in 1738 in the action brought by Theophilus Cibber against Mr. Sloper for adultery with his wife. He was born in 1703, and was drowned in 1757 while passing over to Ireland."

POPPE. The Popple named in *Dunciad*, Book iii. (Warne, p. 160), is probably the William Popple who was appointed Steward in succession to Theobald as before mentioned. It appears, however, from *Q.C.A.* x., 302, that William Popple, Esq., though nominated by Theobalds, declined to act as Steward and one Andrew Robinson served in his stead.

One line in the *Dunciad*, Book iii. (Warne, p. 160), deals with him:—

Lo, Popple's brow, tremendous to the town.

In Elwin & Courthope's edition of *Pope* vol. iv., 344) it is said:—
 "William Popple was a colleague of Aaron Hill in conducting a newspaper called the Prompter and was an author of two plays and of a translation of "Horace's *Ars Poetica*. He was a Clerk in the Cofferer's office and was in "1737 made Solicitor and Clerk of the Reports to the Commissioners for Trade "and Plantations. In 1745 he was made Governor of Bermudas. He died on "8th February 1764. It is not unlikely that he had offended Pope as a "theatrical critic; perhaps by strictures on *Three Hours after Marriage*."

Warburton, with his usual ingenuousness says: "Popple was the author of some vile plays and pamphlets. He published abuses on our Author in a paper called the Prompter." (Warne, p. 160.)

MEARS is also named in the *Dunciad* ii., 125; iii., 28 (Warne, 144 and 156):—

Dulness, good queen, repeats the jest again.
 Three wicked imps of her own Grub Street choir,
 She decked like Congreve, Addison and Prior,
 Mears, Warner, Wilkins run: delusive thought!
 Breval, Bond, Besaleel, the varlets caught.

It seems that Mears, Warner and Wilkins were "Booksellers and printers of much anonymous stuff."

The later allusion is contained in these lines:—

Here in a dusky vale where Lethe rolls
 Old Bavius sits, to dip poetic souls,
 And blunt the sense, and fit it for a skull
 Of solid proof impenetrably dull:
 Instant when dipped away they wing their flight,
 Where Brown and Mears unbar the gates of light.
 Demand new bodies, and in calf's array
 Rush to the world, impatient for the day.

William Mears and Daniel Browne had shops near Temple Bar.

In *Q.C.A.* x., 19, 41, 43, William Mears is mentioned, and doubtless he is the Mears of the *Dunciad*.

He appears in the 1723 List as Wm. Mears (without any addition) of the Lodge at the Crown and Anchor near St. Clement's Church. (This Lodge is in the Engraved List 1723, but not later.)

In the 1725 List he appears as "Wm. Mears" (again without addition) a member of the Lodge at Fleece in Fleet Street. (This Lodge does not appear in the Engraved List of 1729.)

Also again in the 1725 List he appears as Wm. Mears of the Lodge at "Blew Posts in Deveraux Court." This Lodge was No. 38 in the Engraved List of 1729, and is now the Castle Lodge of Harmony No. 26. He may be the "Mr. William MEIRS" named a member of the Lodge at Black Lyon in Jockey's Fields in the 1730 List (*Q.C.A.* x., 185).

One OZELL is also recorded in the *Dunciad* (i., 285; Warne, p. 137). The passage has been quoted in connection with Theobald. Pope's note is:—
 "Mr. John Ozell (if we credit Mr. Jacob) did go to school in Leicestershire

where somebody left him something to live on, when he shall retire from business. He was designed to be sent to Cambridge, in order for priesthood; but he chose rather to be placed in an office of accounts in the city, being qualified for the same by his skill in arithmetic, and writing the necessary hands. He has obliged the world with many translations of French plays"—Jacob's Lives of Dram. Poets p. 198—Pope.

Pope also refers to Ozell in an Epigram on the Translator and in some verses called "Sandys's Ghost" (see Elwin & Courthope, vol. iv., pp. 463 and 486).

There can be little doubt that this Ozell is the same person as the Mr. John Ozill named in the 1730 List of Members of the Lodge then meeting at Cross Keys in Henrietta Street No. 43 in the Engraved List of 1729, now the Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28.

The name of WARD occurs twice in the *Dunciad* (i., 233; iii., 34. Warne, pp. 137 and 156). The second is noted by Pope as John Ward, M.P., who was convicted of forgery and expelled the House in 1727. We have no further concern with him.

The passage in the first book is:—

Know Eusden thirsts no more for sack or praise;
He sleeps among the dull of ancient days;
Safe where no critics damn, no duns molest
Where wretched Withers, Ward, and Gildon rest.

In Warburton's index to names in the *Dunciad* the name of this person is given as "Edward Ward." The note in Warne, p. 137, is "Ward wrote the 'London Spy' and turned 'Don Quixote' into Hudibrastic verses." His full name appears to have been Edward Ward. Possibly he is the person named in *Q.C.A.* x., 19, as "Edwin Ward." The name appears as that of a Member of the Lodge at the Crown and Anchor near St. Clement's Church, of which, as we have seen, Wm. Mears was a member. That Lodge removed to the Star and Garter, Covent Garden. "Mr. Edwin Ward" is named as one of the Wardens in the 1725 List (*Q.C.A.* x., 35). Edward Ward died in 1730, and the name Edwin Ward does not appear in the 1730 List.

JOHN DENNIS is named in the *Dunciad* at least three times, viz.:—Book i., 106; ii., 239; iii., 173:—

Warne, p. 131:

(i.) And all the mighty mad in Dennis rage.

A note follows:—"Dennis was the most furious of critics and had especially provoked the enmity of Pope. He John Dennis was the son of a saddler in London born 1657."

Warne, p. 148:

(ii.) Now thousand tongues are heard in one loud din,
The motley mimics rush discordant in;
'Twas chatt-ring, grinning, mouthing, jabb'ring all,
And noise and Norton, brangling and Braval,
Dennis and dissonance, and captious art,
And snipsnap short, and interruption smart,
And demonstration thin, and theses thick.
And major, minor, and conclusion quick.

Warne, p. 161:

(iii.) Ah Dennis! Gildon, ah! what ill-starred rage
Divides a friendship long confirmed by age?
Blockheads with reason wicked wits abhor;
But fool with fool is barb'rous civil war
Embrace, embrace my sons! be foes no more!
Nor glad vile poets with true critics' gore.

Warburton's note is:—"The reader who has seen through the course of these notes, what a constant attendance Mr. Dennis paid to our author and all his works may perhaps wonder he should be mentioned but twice, and so slightly touched in this poem. But in truth he looked upon him with some esteem for having (more generously than all the rest) set his name to such writings. He was also a very old man at this time. By his own account of himself in Mr. Jacob's *Lives*, he must have been above three score, and happily lived many years after. So that he was senior to Mr. Dufey who hitherto of all our poets enjoyed the longest bodily life."

Reference has been before made to Pope's allusion to the Gormogons. Gould, in his *History* (vol. ii., 379), says:—"The number of renegade Gormogons must I think have been very large, but the only secession from the 'Order' that I have met with occurs in the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* of April 18, 1730, which has: 'On Saturday last at the Prince William Tavern, at Charing Cross, Mr. Dennis the famous poet and critick, was admitted a Free and Accepted Mason, at a lodge then held there, *having renounced the Society of Gormogons*, of which he had been a member for many years.'"

This Lodge, "Prince William at Charing Cross," is mentioned in *Q.C.A.* x., 205, where it is numbered 29. It was at the time No. 64 in the Engraved List. It was constituted 6th March, 1730; removed to the Rose Tavern without Temple Bar in 1732, and was erased in 1736. No list of its members is recorded in Grand Lodge Minutes.

In a footnote Gould says: "John Dennis, a poet, political writer, and critic, was born in 1657 and died on January 6, 1734. He was therefore in his seventy-third year when initiated into Freemasonry."

This is indeed an unusually late initiation for an English Mason.

Maunder's concise biographical note is:—"Dennis John, a dramatist and critic, was born in London in 1657, studied at Cambridge and devoted himself to literature. Throughout life he was almost perpetually in broils with one or other of the wits of the age; and Pope, in return for his animadversions, give him a conspicuous place in the *Dunciad*. He originally had considerable fortune; but having dissipated it the Duke of Marlborough obtained for him the place of land-waiter at the Custom House: this he mortgaged, and his latter days were spent in poverty aggravated by blindness. Died 1734."

It does not appear whether this blindness was total. If it were total and he suffered from it in April, 1730, when initiated, this would be an early example of initiation of a blind person.

It is gratifying to be able to say that Pope was not relentless in his antagonism to Dennis, and that he wrote a Prologue to a Play for Mr. Dennis's benefit in 1733, when "he was old and blind and in great distress a little before his death."

This Prologue was spoken by the before-named Theophilus Cibber on 18th December, 1733. The play acted was "The Provoked Husband," and Dennis got £100 by it. (See Elwin & Courthope, vol. iv., 417, where the prologue appears.)

Dennis is interesting as being an adversary of Pope, a subject of the *Dunciad*, a Gormogon and a Freemason.

While dealing with the Gormogon question it should, perhaps, be noted that the Duke of Wharton associated himself with them. Gould, vol. ii., 378, refers thus to this:—"The *British Journal* of December 12, 1724, reads: 'We hear that a Peer of the first Rank a noted Member of the Society of *Free-Masons* hath suffered himself to be degraded as a member of that Society and his Leather Apron and Gloves to be burnt, and thereupon enter'd himself as a Member of the Society of Gormogons, at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street.' This (says Gould) can only refer to the Duke of Wharton, whose well known eccentricity of character, combined with the rebuff he experienced when last present in Grand Lodge, may have led him to take this step. It is true that in 1728 he constituted a Lodge at Madrid, but this would be in complete harmony with the disposition of a man, who in politics and everything else, was always

turning moral somersaults; and the subsequent application of the lodge to be 'constituted properly' tends to show that, however defective his own memory may have been, his apostasy was neither forgotten or forgiven by the Craft."

RICHARD NASH (174-1761) and FREDERICK PRINCE OF WALES.

It is interesting to note that Pope was well acquainted with the celebrated Beau Nash, the King of Bath as he was sometimes called.

Beau Nash was himself a Freemason, being, as appears by Grand Lodge Minutes (*Q.C.A.* x., p. 37), a member of the Lodge at the Queen's Head at Bath. This was the first Lodge warranted in the Provinces. It was constituted late in 1723, or early in 1724, but only worked about six or seven years, being erased in 1736. No Minute Books of the Lodge are known to be extant.

Pope visited Bath in 1714, and the place proved so agreeable to him that, for the rest of his life, he rarely failed to pay a visit there. (See *E. & C.*, vol. v., 119.)

Writing on 6th October, 1714, from Bath to Mrs. Martha Blount, Pope gives a description of his diversions there, and says: "My chief acquaintance of 'my own sex are the aforesaid Mr. Gascoin & Mr. Nash; of the other Dame 'Lindsey and Jenny Man. I am so much a rake as to be ashamed of being 'seen with Dr. Parnelle.'" (*E. & C.*, vol. ix., 251.)

In vol. x. of *Elwin & Courthope* there are two letters from Pope to Nash dated January and February, 1739, in which Pope subscribes himself as "Your affectionate servant."

These letters have reference to the request of Nash that Pope would compose an Inscription for an Obelisk which Nash erected celebrating a visit to Bath in 1738 by the then Prince of Wales. This Obelisk was originally 70 feet high, but has been struck by lightning so that it now exists in a truncated form. It stands in Queen's Square, Bath. Some snapper-up of trifles has, however, conveyed away the plate bearing the Inscription, so that the Obelisk itself does not tell its own story.

Pope tried to avoid the distinction of composing the Inscription, and said that Nash could do it better himself. However, Nash ultimately prevailed, and the result fully justified our Poet's reticence. The Poet laboured and brought forth this inspiring effort of genius:—

In memory of honours bestowed
and in gratitude for benefits conferred on this City
By his Royal Highness
Frederick Prince of Wales
and his Royal Consort
in the year 1738
this Obelisk is erected by
Richard Nash Esq.

Goldsmith, in his life of Nash, says of this inscription:—"I dare venture to say there was scarce a Common Councilman in the Corporation of Bath but could have done this as well."

In Anstey's *Bath Guide* reference is made to this Obelisk or Needle thus:—

But then that Square—within whose centre railed
Lies taste upon an Obelisk impaled.

It will be observed that this visit of the Prince of Wales was paid in 1738, being the year in which appeared the second edition by Dr. Anderson of the *Constitutions*. This edition was dedicated (by order):—

To the Most High, Puissant and most Illustrious
Prince FRIDERICK LEWIS
Prince Royal of Great Britain
Prince and Stewart of Scotland
Prince of Wales (&c. &c.)
A Master Mason and Master of a Lodge.

Particulars as to the qualifications of H.R.H. appear in Anderson's said Book, page 137, whence it appears that he was made an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft on 5th November, 1737, at an Occasional Lodge held at his Palace of Kew (the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers being the Master of such Lodge). He was made a Master Mason by the same Lodge.

It is on record (Cunningham's *Lives*, vol v., page 12) that the Prince paid a complimentary visit to Pope, but it does not appear that Freemasonry was successful in moulding the Prince's character to anything laudable.

The aforesaid dedication conveys from the Fraternity "their Gratitude and Brotherly Love to his Royal Person, and their humble duty to his Royal Princess (whom he had married in 1736) wishing her to be the happy Mother of many Sons, whose descendants shall also prove the Patrons of the Fraternity in all future Ages."

This aspiration as to the descendants of the Prince has been, and is being, happily fulfilled, as witness in our own days our present Grand Master and our Past Grand Wardens the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, both of whom are now Provincial Grand Masters.

There is apparently no extant record at Bath of any attendance by Pope at a Masonic Lodge there. The Lodge at the Queen's Head, Bath, was succeeded (or perhaps the correct term may be "superseded") in 1733 by a Lodge which met at the Bear Tavern, Bath (now the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41).

In the *St. James' Evening Post* for 1738 the following appears:—

Bath October 30th 1738.

"The Prince of Wales being at Bath for the benefit of his health an Extraordinary Lodge was held at the Bear Tavern at which were present:—Earl Darnley (late G.M.), John Ward Esq. D.G.M., Sir Edwin Mansell Bart, Dr. Desaguliers and other Brethren, in honour of the day and in respect to His Royal Highness who is a Brother. Note.—The day was the King's Birthday."

Possibly Nash was present on that occasion. He was not a personage who could easily be suppressed at Bath. This must, however, remain purely a matter of surmise unless some new evidence comes to light.

It appears from *Chronicles of the 18th Century*, by Maud Wyndham (see vol. i., p. 68, etc.), that the Poet and Prince did come into more than casual communication.

This footnote is interesting:—"The Prince once said to him, 'Mr. Pope, you don't love Princes.' 'Sir, I beg your pardon.' 'Well, you don't like Kings then.' The Poet answered neatly, 'Sir, I love the lion best before his claws are grown.'"

In the same book there is a letter by Lyttleton urging Pope to be the Prince's mentor. This is dated from Bath, October (1738), which, it will be observed, is in the same month as that in which the Prince attended the Lodge there. In the course of this letter Lyttleton says:—"Be therefore as much with him as you can, animate him to virtue, to the virtue least known to Princes though most necessary for them—love of the public—and think that the morals, the liberty, the whole happiness of the country depends on your success. . . . You may remember that I was almost forced to compel you to go and dine at Kew the last time you was there. And yet there was never a morning better spent by you; no, not in conversing with Lord Bolingbroke. In short if you had any spirit in you, you would come to Bath, and let the Prince hear every day from the man of this age who is the greatest dispenser of fame, and will best be heard by posterity, that, if he would immortalize himself, the only way he can take is to deserve a place by his conduct. in some writings where he will never be only for his rank."

How far, if at all, Pope responded to this urgent call I have not yet discovered.

Frederick Prince of Wales died on 20th March, 1751, and soon after his decease the following anonymous lines appeared, and probably reflect the Jacobite view:—

Here lies Fred
Who was alive and is dead
Had it been his father
I had much rather;
Had it been his brother,
Still better than another;
Had it been his sister
No one would have missed her;
Had it been the whole generation,
Still better for the nation;
But since 'tis only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
There's no more to be said.

Thus we have seen that Bath links together three Masonic Brethren, namely, the Prince of Wales (Father of George III.), Beau Nash and Alexander Pope.

Some of the information in this section of my paper is derived from Brother Norman's article in the *Transactions* of the Somerset Masters' Lodge for 1917. I am also indebted to Brother Vibert for investigating and reporting on the condition of the commemorative Obelisk.

ANDREW MICHAEL RAMSAY.

This celebrity is usually called the Chevalier Ramsay, and his prominence in connection with Continental Freemasonry and the subject of additional degrees is matter of common knowledge among students of Freemasonry. His oration, made on 21st March, 1737, is one of the outstanding factors in Masonic history.

Ramsay was born at Ayr (Scotland) in or about 1680-81. He left the Army in 1710, and sought out the celebrated Fénélon at Cambrai. By that prelate he was converted to the Roman faith, and lived with him till Fénélon's death in 1715. He appears to have acted as Fénélon's secretary.

He died in 1743, having been made a D.C.L. of Oxford in 1730 and a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1729.

A full account of his career as connected with Freemasonry appears in Gould's *History*, vol. iii., page 78 to 91. It only remains, therefore, to show what connection he had with Pope. The following statement is practically a copy of the note in Elwin & Courthope, vol. iv., 291.

When controversy arose as to the *Essay on Man*, Pope's defence was undertaken by Warburton, who endeavoured to show that Pope's doctrines were not inconsistent with Christianity. Pope accepted this orthodox meaning imposed on his *Essay*, and was anxious to use the new interpretation to silence or conciliate his opponents abroad. He immediately got Warburton's reply to Crousaz translated into French, and employed Ramsay, a Scotchman who had been Fénélon's secretary, to write to Louis Racine, April 28th, 1742, and assure him that he was mistaken when he said in his poem *La Religion*:—

Sans doute qu'a ces mots des bords de la Tamise
Quelque abstrait raisonneur, que ne se plaint de rien.
Dans son phlegme Anglican répondre Tout est bien.

The effect of which is:—That no doubt to these words used by the Poet Racine some abstract reasoner from the shores of the Thames who complains of nothing whatever will respond "Whatever is right."

Ramsay told the French Poet that Pope did not think all was 'right' in mankind. He believed them fallen from their primitive condition, and his life-long faith was evidence of his real affections. "He is a very good Catholic," says his apologist, "and has always kept to the religion of his forefathers in a country where he had many temptations to abandon it."

Pope in the following September wrote direct to Racine in the same strain, and alleged he was of the same way of thinking as Pascal and Fénelon, the latter of whom he would most readily follow in submitting all his opinions to the decision of the Church. This letter evoked sceptical comments from Voltaire.

It will be observed that this friendly action on the part of Chevalier Ramsay occurred in the year 1742, that is, in the year prior to Ramsay's death.

Whether it was prompted by the fraternal tie of Freemasonry, or by the fact that Ramsay and Pope each professed the Roman religion, or by both, who can tell?

The *Dunciad*, as might well be supposed, was not allowed to pass without multitudinous denunciations from or on behalf of the parties attacked. These gave rise to retorts. One of these retorts was a letter from WILLIAM CLELAND dated St. James's, December 22, 1728. It was addressed to the Publisher as occasioned by "the first correct edition of the *Dunciad*." (See Warne, p. 575.)

It begins:—"It is with pleasure I hear that you have procured a correct copy of *The Dunciad*, which the many surreptitious ones have rendered so necessary"; and proceeds after introductory matter thus:—"It was upon reading some of the abusive papers lately published, that my great regard to a person whose friendship I esteem as one of the chief honours of my life, and a much greater respect to truth, than to him or any man living, engaged me in inquiries of which the enclosed notes are the fruit."

Again:—"I am one of that number who have long loved and esteemed Mr. Pope; and had often declared it was not his capacity or writings (which we ever thought the least valuable part of his character) but the honest, open, and beneficent man, that we most esteemed and loved in him."

And in the last sentence:—"Our author in his very laughter is not indulging his own ill-nature but only punishing that of others."

Some contemporaries were so very unkind as to allege that this letter was written by Pope himself.

Warburton's note on the letter is:—"This gentleman (William Cleland) was of Scotland and bred at the University of Utrecht, with the Earl of Mar. He served in Spain under Earl Rivers. After the peace he was made one of the Commissioners of the Customs in Scotland, and then of Taxes in England, in which, having shown himself for twenty years diligent, punctual and incorruptible, though without any other assistance of fortune, he was suddenly displaced by the minister in the 68th year of his age; and died two months after, in 1741. He was a person of universal learning, and an enlarged conversation; no man had a warmer heart for his friend or a sincerer attachment for the constitution of his country. And yet for all this the public will not allow him to be the author of this letter."

The reason for referring to this letter from William Cleland is that there can be little doubt that he was a Freemason.

The name "Mr. William Cleland" appears at p. 153 of *Q.C.A.* x., in the 1730 List as a member of the Lodge then meeting at "The One Tun in Noble Street." This Lodge had formerly met at "The Fountain, Strand," and is now the Royal Alpha No. 16.

That is the sole entry of his name, but it is interesting to find that Pope had, in Brother Cleland, one who boldly repelled the slanderers of his good name.

It may be worthy of note in passing that, in the 1725 List of this Lodge, only one name (that of John Kirk) appears which is to be found in the 1730 List; thus giving further evidence that constancy to one's Lodge was not a prevalent virtue in those days. The removal from "The Fountain" to the "One Tun" had taken place in the meantime, but that seems an insufficient reason for the state of things above mentioned. (There were 26 names in the earlier list and 22 names in the latter.)

Mr. William Williams who was Warden of "The One Tun Lodge" (of which Cleland was a member) may be the same as the Mr. William Williams who was a member of "The Goat Lodge," of which Alexander Pope was a member, and this may be an indirect link of Masonic interest.

Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry have often been considered as more or less allied. In the Preface to *The Rape of the Lock* (dated 1712) Pope explains that he determined to raise the machinery of that poem on a very new and odd foundation, the Rosicrucian doctrine of spirits. (Warne, p. 56.)

He explains:—"The Rosicrucians are a people I must bring you acquainted with. The best account I know of them is in a French book called *Le Comte de Gabalis* (written by the Abbé Villars), which, both in its title and size, is so like a novel that many of the fair sex have read it for one by mistake. According to these gentlemen the four elements are inhabited by spirits, which they call sylphs, gnomes, nymphs and salamanders. The gnomes, or demons of earth, delight in mischief; but the sylphs, whose habitation is in the air, are the best-conditioned creatures imaginable. For they say any mortals may enjoy the most intimate familiarities with these gentle spirits, upon a condition very easy to all true adepts, an inviolate preservation of chastity."

The Hero, or Villain, of the *Rape of the Lock* is said to be Robert 7th Lord Petre (a member of a well-known Roman Catholic family). Robert Edward (Lord Petre) was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England 1772-76. He was the 9th Baron and grandson of the 7th Lord Petre.

The celebrated artist WILLIAM HOGARTH has been mentioned earlier in this paper as having utilised Pope's description of Theobald for his picture of the Distressed Poet. He was born in 1697, and died in 1764. (Pope's period was from 1688 to 1744.) The name William Hogarth appears in *Q.C.A.* x., at pages 43 and 240, and one Mr. Hogarth also appears on page 178.

On page 43 (in the 1725 List) he is recorded as a member of the Lodge meeting at "Blew Posts in Devereux Court," a Lodge which still survives under the name of "The Castle Lodge of Harmony," and bearing the number 26. The entry on page 240 is under date 30th March, 1734, and records the appointment of Mr. Wm. Hogarth as one of the Stewards for the Festival.

The entry (on page 178) occurs in the 1730 List; Mr. Hogarth there being described as a member of the Lodge at "Bear and Harrow in the Butcher's Row." This Lodge is now represented by St. George's and Corner Stone No. 5.

The membership was of very high social and Masonic standing, including the then G.M. Visct. Montague, Jas. Smythe (G.W.) before mentioned, the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers, formerly G.M., and other dignitaries too numerous to be mentioned here.

Hogarth the Freemason was connected with Pope the Freemason to this extent. In *Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen*, edited by George Godfrey Cunningham (Glasgow, 1835), appears the following, being an extract from a biography of Wm. Hogarth:—

"But perhaps the earliest specimen of his (Hogarth's) attempts at character which has survived, is a rude outline sketch of one of the scenes in Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, said to have been an impression from a scratching on the lid of a gold snuff-box. This production is so meagre, and so negligently executed, that it is only on being informed of the name of the artist, that, with the assistance, perhaps, of a slight tinge of fancy, we are enabled to detect his characteristics: yet so much do collectors prefer the possession of what another cannot procure to the best works of art that . . . the single impression from the snuff box was purchased at Mr. Gulstone's sale in 1786 for £33."

At least this is evidence that Pope's poem furnished a theme for the great artist realist Hogarth.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that, while the First Edition of Epistle IV. of Pope's *Moral Essays* was published in folio in 1731, a spurious

edition was published in octavo, 1732, with many severe remarks by Concanen and Welsted, as was supposed. To this was prefixed a print designed by Hogarth, in which Pope is represented as standing on a builder's high stage and whitewashing the great gateway of Burlington House. This print was suppressed by Hogarth, and is now very valuable. Hogarth did not shrink from depicting Pope as a hunchback, and we are not surprised that Warburton remarked that Pope was so hurt by this caricature of his figure, as to rank it among the most atrocious injuries he received from his enemies.

From Elwin & Courthope's edition of *Pope*, it appears that Pope had correspondence in November, 1740, with the well-known poet, CHRISTOPHER SMART, A.M., as to Smart translating some of Pope's poetry into Latin. Christopher Smart was a Freemason, as appears by a Masonic Song reprinted in Bro. Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations* 1898 (*A Defence of Free Masonry*, page 64, published in 1765).

This song is headed:—

Song by Brother C. Smart A.M.

Tune: Ye frolicsome Sparks of the Game.

SIR RICHARD STEELE the essayist and playwright was also in correspondence with Pope. It appears that Pope had contributed certain essays for Steele's publications.

In the collection of Pope's letters there are some from Pope to Steele dated in 1711 and 1712. It is generally accepted that Steele was a Freemason, and some evidence of this is afforded by the fact that in a plate in Bernard Picart's *Cérémonies et Coutumes Religieuses* (circa 1736) there appears a copy of the 1735 Engraved List of Lodges surmounted prominently by a medallion portrait of Steele. (See Gould, vol. ii., 275, as to Steele and Freemasonry.)

Probably the industrious student with time at his disposal could find further references to matters and persons Masonic in the writings of Pope.

This essay does not profess to be exhaustive, but, if it is suggestive, and provocative of other additions to our Masonic knowledge during a period of such interest, the writer will feel that he does not go unrewarded.

I desire, in conclusion, to express my obligations to our W.Bro. Secretary for encouragement and guidance.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Williams for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, seconded by Bro. John Stokes.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Williams, who has given us a carefully written and suggestive literary paper, I confess that my great difficulty is to find something to criticise. Bro. Williams has gone over the ground so minutely as to avoid any pitfalls that might have been in his path, and he has not attempted to strain the evidence at his disposal into any form of special pleading. I congratulate him unfeignedly on the spirit and the letter of his performance.

All I can do is to add a few marginalia, none of them of any value, to his researches.

He has referred to Roman Catholic Masons. Up to about one hundred years ago the bulk of the Craft in Ireland was of that religion. One of the first sermons delivered on behalf of our Girls' School was by a Roman Catholic priest in Dublin, and during its first years a large number of the children in that school were brought up in the Roman Catholic religion. The subject is

rather a ticklish one, and I do not feel inclined to elaborate on it, but I should like to put it on record that bitterness of religious dissension was never tolerated in the Irish Craft.

As to Lord Lovell's Grandmastership, he was nominated G.M. on the 17th March, 1730/1, and I think it is plain that the list of Lodges must have been compiled before that date, which, according to the Old Style, would have been 17th March, 1730: perhaps the phrasing of the scribe indicates that it may be attributed to the period between 27th December, 1730, and 17th March, 1730/1, or 1731 New Style.

I think we must not attribute much importance to the circumstances of the members of the Martinus Scriblerus Club addressing one another as Brother: in those days it was a common familiar mode of speaking to an intimate, and if I remember my "Robinson Crusoe" correctly, most of the sailors had that word often in their mouths. Other examples of its colloquial use could easily be supplied, and the Craft had not the monopoly of it.

This naturally brings me to consider the claims of Dean Swift to be ranked as a Mason. We may take it as almost certain that he was never out of Ireland after Stella's death. We have various descriptions in the Dublin Press of celebrations, bonfires, and so forth, on the Dean's return from journeys to the north of Ireland, on his birthday, and so on; but a careful search of this Press has disclosed no visit to England after 1727. I look upon this negative evidence as conclusive.

May I add, that while I am perfectly convinced that Swift was a Mason, I attribute his active contact with the Craft to a much earlier period than that of "Mr. John Swift," who I believe is quite a different person. Perhaps the Trinity College Lodge in 1688 had the honour of initiating him; or another likely period would appear to be about 1711, when he was much in the company of Steele.

The periods of Swift's last visits to England can be traced with exactness. He left Ireland in March, 1725/6, not having been in England since 1714. He had left London on his return journey by the 15th August, 1726. His visit was spent largely in the company of Gay, Pope and Arbuthnot, and this brilliant five months saw the completion of two English classics and the beginnings of a third: "The Beggar's Opera," "Gulliver's Travels," and the "Dunciad." July, 1726, was filled with political intriguing by Swift and darkened by the news of Stella's illness, which finally called him back to Ireland.

On the 9th April, 1727, Swift returned to England for the last time. The death of George I. occurred on the 11th June, and led to more political intriguing. Swift's health at this time was very bad, and once again anxiety about Stella came between him and the pleasure of consorting with old friends. He returned to Ireland in September, 1727: Stella died in the following January, and Swift never left Ireland again. I suggest that during these last two English visits Swift had so many other things to think about that he was hardly likely to become the active member of an English Lodge; and that even if he had so become, he was much too famous a figure to be masked under the careless title of "Mr. John Swift."

I refuse, therefore, to accept his identity with this Member of the Goat Lodge. May I throw out a suggestion for future research in this particular? Some of Swift's account books are preserved in South Kensington Museum. He was meticulous in entering every penny he spent and why it was spent. An examination of these by any Brother who has the necessary time at his disposal might bring him fame by establishing the Dean's real London Lodge. If it be the function of the Master to set the Craft at labour, I would throw the suggestion of a task in the way of our Bro. J. Walter Hobbs.

The only other matter in the paper to which I wish to refer is the famous poem about "Fred." These lines are much older than the time of Frederick, Prince of Wales. They occur, for example, with the "Fred"

changed to "Ned" in Tom Brown's Works, edition 1724; and the conclusion I came to on looking into the matter some years ago was that they probably referred to the Hydes, the Clarendon family, and so must be set back considerably farther.

I have now only to offer the essayist my congratulations and personal thanks for an excellent paper, and to propose that the hearty thanks of this Lodge be given him for his trouble.

Bro. G. W. DAYNES writes:—

Although unable to be present to hear Bro. Williams' paper, I have been able to read an advance proof, and have ventured to put into writing a few observations upon it. First, however, let me add my thanks to Bro. Williams for his interesting paper. My chief regret is that he had made little or no attempt to add to our knowledge concerning Pope as a Freemason. If Bro. Williams could have tackled this problem, and produced additional evidence, which would either have converted Bro. Chetwode Crawley's theory into an ascertained fact, or have shown that similarity of Christian names and surnames must not necessarily be treated as conclusive evidence of identity, then he would indeed have made a valuable addition to the *Transactions* of the Lodge. But Bro. Williams accepts the conclusions of Bro. Chetwode Crawley, and states that the paper is "to some extent written on the assumption that our Poet is the Alex^r. Pope named in the Lodge List." These conclusions have not, however, met with universal acceptance. In reviewing Bro. Sadler's book, *Masonic Reprints and Historical Revelations*, Bro. R. F. Gould casts considerable doubt upon the accuracy of Bro. Chetwode Crawley's deductions, and states: "Alexander Pope, the poet, had a namesake—a well-known London character—who, with hardly a doubt, was the 'Alex^r. Pope' of the Lodge at the Goat, and as for the Dean, it would seem to me to require a very great deal more evidence of an affirmative character (leaving wholly out of sight what might be urged of a negative kind), before the suggestion that he is referred to under the name of 'John Swift' in the List of 1730, can be seriously entertained." (*A.Q.C.* xi., 194.)

That Bro. Williams should assume the most important factor in his paper comes to me as a great shock, for I know of no one more ready to attack theories where the facts do not conclusively demonstrate the accuracy of those theories. I suggest that the doings of the Lodge which met at the Goat at the foot of the Haymarket in 1730, and the identification of its members, if possible, are very important streams of information, and I should much have liked Bro. Williams to have explored them. From the Manuscript List referred to by Bro. Williams, we learn that the following were members of the Lodge in 1731:—

Mr. Isaac Dubois Ma^r.
 Mr. Gam^l. Massiot } Wardens
 Mr. William Bodle }
 Mr. William Stephenson
 Mr. Elias Russell
 Mr. Peter Russell
 Mr. Edward Eldrige
 Mr. John Beauford
 Mr. Paul Dubois
 Mr. Andrew Halk
 Mr. Richard Stone
 Mr. Abraham Foiseau
 Mr. William Crawford
 Mr. Andrew Halk
 Mr. Alex^r. Pope
 Mr. Tho^s. Buck
 Mr. Peter S^t. Peir
 Mr. Peter Jubart

Mr. Michael Leige
 Mr. William Williams
 Mr. William Forrest
 Mr. John Swift
 Mr. Josias Ancelo
 Mr. Clement Medeu
 Mr. Tho^s. Briggs
 Mr. Robert Simpson
 Mr. Tho^s. Munn
 George Rooke Esq^r.
 Mr. Elig^h. Mansier
 Mr. Henry Cowpland
 Mr. Sampson Bishop
 Mr. Jos: Creswale
 Mr. William Smith
 Mr. John Savage
 Mr. John Barns

We also know that this Lodge, which was constituted at the Red Lion, Tottenham Court Road, on the 3rd April, 1723, and was numbered 16 in the 1729 enumeration, had the following moves before it was erased on the 21st November, 1745:—

Goat, at the foot of the Haymarket	... ..	1730
Bedford Court Coffee House, Bedford Court, Covent Garden	...	1734
Private Room, Red Lion St., Holborn	... ..	1735
Turk's Head, Fleet Street	... ..	1736
Cross Keys, corner of St. Martin's Lane	... ..	1736
Le Guerre Tavern	... ..	1738
St. Martin's,	... ..	1738
Turk's Head, Temple Bar	... ..	1738
Bedford Arms, Covent Garden	... ..	1739

(Lane's *Masonic Records*, p. 43.)

The move from the Red Lion was opposed by a section of the Lodge, these members appealing to Grand Lodge to exercise their authority to prevent it. The Minutes of the Quarterly Communication, held at the Devil Tavern within Temple Bar, on Thursday, 2nd March, 1732, record as follows:—

“The Deputy Grand Master took notice of a Comp^t. made by several Brethren of the Loge at the Red Lyon in Tottenham Court Road; against their present Master and Wardens; Both parties were called in and fully heard and being desired to withdraw.
After some Debate.

Resolved

That the Lodge at the Red Lyon in Tottenham Court Road, is regularly moved by the present Master and Wardens, and Majority of the Lodge, to the Goat at the Foot of the Hay Market, and it was Ordered that the Secretary have it inserted in the Book of Regular Lodges accordingly.” (*Q.C.A.* x., 216.)

At the Quarterly Communication, held on the 17th March, 1731, the Master and Wardens of the “Red Lyon in Tottenham Court Road” are recorded as being present. The Minutes of the next Quarterly Communication do not record the presence of any representatives from this Lodge. At the Quarterly Communications, held on the 24th June and 3rd December, 1731, the Minutes record that the Masters and Wardens of 29 and 46 Lodges respectively were present, but the names of their Lodges are not given on either occasion. It cannot be said with accuracy when the move from the Red Lion took place, but the extracts given from the Grand Lodge Minute Books point to Bro. Lane having ante-dated the move by at least a year. It seems probable that the transfer did not take place until either the end of 1731, too late for the complaint to be heard on the 3rd December, or early in 1732.

According to Bro. Lane, the Lodge came to its last resting place—the Bedford Arms, Covent Garden—in 1739, and it is so described in the Minutes of the Quarterly Communication held on the 30th June, 1739. The number assigned to the Lodge in 1729 was altered to 15 at the 1740 enumeration. At present we know very little of the doings of the Lodge whilst at the Bedford Arms. There is, however, no doubt that the Lodge was in active working order in 1740, and probably later. Proof of this can be found in a set of By-Laws framed and agreed to by the Lodge after the 1740 enumeration. These By-Laws have been reprinted in vol. xvii. of *A.Q.C.*, at pp. 23-26. To what extent these By-Laws reproduced the earlier rules of the Lodge it is idle to speculate. From these By-Laws we learn that the Fee on Initiation was £2-2-0, besides Quarterage; that the Past Master, if present, took the Chair in the absence of the Master; that the fee for “Passing Mast^r.” was five shillings; and that no Member was publicly to offer any Tickets in the Lodge for the benefit of any Player or other person. The 25th By-Law possesses unusual features, and I therefore quote it. It states:—

That no Person shall be propos'd As & for A Member of this Lodge who is of the same Profession or Trade with any Member of this Lodge; But who shall be proposed to this Lodge by the Member of that Profession or by his permission.

Any research which would disclose further particulars concerning this Lodge must be of value, and might have an important bearing upon the subject matter of this paper.

In the few days that I have had at my disposal I have attempted to trace some of the members of this Lodge, but I fear with little success. The opportunities for such research work in a provincial town are very limited. It can best be done in London, and I hope a Brother will be forthcoming to undertake it. My notes are as follows:—

ISAAC DUBOIS. Chaser in the Meuse, Charing Cross. Was a Member of the Lodge at the Two Black Posts, Maiden Lane, No. 163 (1729 enumeration). Was fined in that Lodge for minor offences. (*A.Q.C.* xxix., 166, 210.)

WILLIAM STEPHENSON. Perhaps the same as "Mr. William Stephenson the Glover," who was one of those who encouraged Dr. Anderson (*Book of Constitutions*, 2nd Edition, p. 229.) He may also have been the Bro. Stephenson referred to in the Minutes of the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, held on the 30th June, 1739. The Minute reads as follows:—"The Complaint referred by the last Committee of Charity concerning the irregular making of Masons was taken into Consideration When the Sec^y. informed the Lodge that he had given Notice to the several persons complained off to attend & answer the same at this Q.C. And Bro: Stephenson one of the said persons attended & excused himself to the Satisfaction of the Lodge But others of them not appearing & the S:G:W: who made one of the complaints being absent in the Country. Ordered that the farther Consideration thereof be deferred till some other Opportunity." (*Q.C.A.* x., 319).

ELIAS or PETER RUSSELL. Visited Lodge No. 163 above mentioned on the 23rd March, 1738, being Master of Lodge No. 16, which then met at the Turk's Head, Temple Bar. (*A.Q.C.* xxix., 213.)

PAUL DUBOIS. May have been the Paul Dubois who was a Silk Weaver, and died in Epping Forest in April, 1768. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1768, p. 198.)

PETER JUBART, or JOUBERT, or JUBERT. This Member was also a Member of the Lodge meeting at the Crown and Sceptres, in St. Martins Lane, in 1731 (*Q.C.A.* x., 163), and the Lodge that met at The Swan, in Long Acre, in 1731. (*Q.C.A.* x., 170.) Both these Lodges were in the vicinity of Lodge No. 16. It is also interesting to note that all three Lodges to which Bro. Joubert belonged were erased either in 1744 or 1745.

GEORGE ROOKE. He is the only Member who is termed "Esquire," and may perhaps be identified with the George Rooke who was S.G.W., 1732-33, and who was a member of the Lodge meeting at the Bear and Harrow, and also The University Lodge, in 1731. I assume that Bro. Chetwode Crawley was in error when he referred to this Member as "Ger. Rorke Esq.," and as a "Gentleman of unmistakeable Irish patronymic."

WILLIAM SMITH. Perhaps a Sash Maker in Dean Street, near South Audley Street, Grosvenor Square, and a Member of Lodge No. 163, held at the Two Black Posts, Maiden Lane, being last mentioned in the Minutes of that Lodge on the 6th March, 1746. (*A.Q.C.* xxix., 166.)

JOHN SAVAGE. Bro. Chetwode Crawley identifies him as the Revd. Dr. Savage, of St. George's, Hanover Square, but he might equally have been John Savage, Usher to the Queen, who died on the 16th November, 1753, aged 79. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1753, p. 540.)

We also know of two other members of Lodge No. 16 who were members of that Lodge in 1738, when it met at the Turk's Head, Temple Bar. Thomas Barron visited Lodge No. 163 on the 16th March, 1738, and again on the 6th April, 1738, on the second occasion being accompanied by James Horton. (*A.Q.C.* xxix., 211-212.)

Dr. Arbuthnot belonged to a Lodge in which several well-known men were also members. There seems to be great difficulty in identifying the different members of the Lodge at the Goat, and this leads one to the conclusion that the social standing of that Lodge was not very high. Also, several of the members names are distinctly foreign, and one wonders why Pope and Swift associated with them, that is, if these two are to be identified as members of that Lodge. I do not suppose Bro. Williams has come across any references in the works, or letters, of Pope to any of these members. If Pope and Swift were members of the Lodge in 1731 some of the members at that date must have been their friends, and one might have expected to have found something.

Bro. Williams has diligently extracted from the works of Pope references to a certain number of persons who were Freemasons during the period under review. What proportion do they bear to the whole of Pope's references to contemporary personalities? Would we be correct in inferring that Pope had singled out Freemasons either for attack or otherwise, or—which seems far more probable—that Pope mentions so many persons that by the ordinary law of averages a certain number of them were Freemasons?

The reason given by Bro. Williams for Pope seeking initiation does not sound convincing. If he wanted to do honour to the Duke of Norfolk as a co-religionist would he not have immortalized him in verse, rather than by joining an obscure Lodge of Freemasons, which met at the Goat Tavern at the foot of the Haymarket?

Bro. Williams quotes from a letter in the *Freemason's Magazine* for the 6th April, 1861, to show that the writings of Pope had been utilized to exemplify the great principle of modern English Freemasonry. Bro. Williams has, however, apparently missed a far more famous example of the utilization of Pope's writings. John Noorthouck, in the edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1784, quotes Pope on at least five occasions. On page 1, when dealing with the wonders of the universe, he quotes:—

“ All nature, is but art unknown to thee;
All chance, direction which thou canst not see;
All discord, harmony not understood;
All partial evil, universal good!”

On page 6 he quotes Pope's account of the origin of human knowledge as follows:—

“ See him from nature rising slow to art!
To copy instinct then, was reason's part.
Thus then to man, the voice of nature spake—
Go, from the creatures thy instructions take;
Learn from the birds, what food the thickets yield;
Learn from the beasts, the physic of the field;
Thy arts of building, from the bee receive;
Learn of the mole to plough, the worm to weave;
Learn of the little nautilus to sail,
Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale;
Here too, all forms of social union find,
And hence let reason, late, instruct mankind.”

In passing I would call attention to Pope's reference to the bee and the arts of building. Had his writings any influence on the inclusion of the beehive as a symbol in eighteenth century Freemasonry? The next reference to Pope's writings in the *Book of Constitutions* is on page 68, where we find the following passage:—

“Agreeable to a position advanced at the opening of this history, the rudiments of art are to be sought in nature; a truth, which our great didactic poet has happily recommended to the attention of every designer:

‘To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
 ‘To rear the column, or the arch to bend,
 ‘To swell the terrace, or to sink the grot;
 ‘In all, let Nature never be forgot.’”

The next quotation from Pope is on page 141, and contains a description of the happy influence of peace in promoting public works. It is Peace and other concurring circumstances which:

“Bid harbours open, public ways extend,
 Bid temples worthier of the God ascend;
 Bid the broad arch the dang’rous flood contain,
 The mole projected break the roaring main;
 Back to his bounds their subject sea command,
 And roll obedient rivers through the land:
 These honours, peace to happy Britain brings,
 These are imperial works, and worthy kings!”

Bro. Williams quotes the first two lines of this passage with the six lines which preceded them in Epistle IV. of Pope’s Moral Essays, and says that they remind him of the unmitigated laudation of the classic style of Architecture to be found in Anderson’s *Constitutions*. He has evidently missed their use by Bro. Noorthouck in the 1784 edition.

The last quotation from Pope is concerning the Monument in London, and the suggestion, that the Great Fire was started by the Popish faction, which was incorporated in an inscription at one time on the base of the pedestal. The passage in the *Book of Constitutions* reads as follows:—

“Mr. Pope the poet, who was of the Catholic religion, attacked this popular accusation with rather more address, when in his epistle to Lord Bathurst, he refers to this pillar thus:

‘Where London’s column, pointing at the skies,
 ‘Like a tall bully, lifts its head, and lies.’”

We are told that Pope was a continual visitor to Bath from 1714. So was Dr. Desaguliers. Again, both Pope and Dr. Desaguliers were members of the Gentleman’s Society of Spalding. It is, therefore, rather surprising that no connection between the two has yet been traced.

With regard to Christopher Smart it may be of interest to note, that in November, 1740, when Pope appears to have corresponded with Smart, the latter was only in his nineteenth year, and an Undergraduate at Pembroke College, Cambridge, having been admitted on the 30th October, 1739. Smart did not take his B.A. Degree until January, 1743. But for his *Song to David*, which has gained the highest praise from Mr. Robert Browning, Smart would probably have long since been forgotten. In 1752, he published *Poems on Several Occasions*, and had the support of 700 subscribers. It would be interesting to know whether they included many Freemasons; also whether the Masonic Song alluded to by Bro. Williams appeared in that book. Sir Edmund Gosse, in an Essay on Christopher Smart, tells a very sordid story of his life, in which drunkenness and debt “was happily relieved by death in 1770, in his 48th year, at the close of a career as melancholy as any recorded in the chronicles of literature.” (*Gossip in a Library*, by Sir Edmund Gosse.)

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP said:—

Bro. Williams has to a considerable extent disarmed criticism by his frank introductory acknowledgment that he prefers no claim for Pope to be regarded as an estimable Freemason. With Pope's literary merits or faults we are not here concerned. That the versatile but venomous author was a member of our Craft must, I think, be admitted; and few will doubt his identity with the member of the Lodge meeting about 1727 at the Goat in the Haymarket (as maintained by Bro. Chetwode Crawley), though many may question the identification of his fellow-member "Mr. John Swift" with the distinguished Dean of Dublin.

We must remember, however, that the pecuniary obligations of Masonic membership at that period were very different from those prevailing now. Annual subscriptions to a Lodge were then unborn. The common custom was for Brethren (after establishing their title to admission to a certain Lodge, by initiation or otherwise) merely to be charged certain fees on occasions when they did attend it, and certain fines when they did not. Part of the revenue thus accruing went for general purposes, and part for refreshment during and after labour. This custom readily accounts for the numerous "short-term masons" referred to by Bro. Williams, especially as Grand Lodge did not then permit a Brother to belong to more than one Lodge at one time.

This fact also has a bearing upon the suggested identity of "Mr. John Swift." Practically all that is implied by the inclusion of his name in the list of members at the Goat Tavern is that he had recently been present at a meeting there. Dean Swift was at Twickenham with Pope in 1727, and therefore may have accompanied his friend (and host) to that meeting, where his wit would win for him a ready acceptance whilst his ecclesiastical rank remained unsuspected. No doubt they would spend a convivial evening, which was the usual object of Masonry in those days (except for a few seriously-minded Brethren who were Wardens and Masters), and as neither Pope nor Swift came under the latter category the Dean was not the sort of dignitary to appear in such company in a black apron or gaiters.

Similarly, Pope may have been taken by his friend Dr. Arbuthnot to the Bedford-head, though the Lodge there had lapsed in 1725 and the *Satire* was not published until 1733. The *Dunciad* contains a similar reference to the Devil at Temple Bar,¹ i.e., the tavern, not the Lodge and still less the fiend.

The date of the *Dunciad* (1727) is deceptive so far as the reference to Freemasons, Gregorians and Gormogons, is concerned, because that part containing the reference was added subsequently in 1742. Bro. Gould believed the Gormogons to be by then extinct, though probably Pope was unaware of the fact.

For the identification as Freemasons of numerous other persons mentioned in Pope's literary works we are much indebted to Bro. Williams. He has thereby afforded us further evidence of his qualifications in research and his ability as a Masonic student; and I venture to add my own meed of praise and thanks to him for the very interesting paper which he has given us this evening.

Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT writes:—

Bro. W. J. Williams has brought together a number of very interesting notes about some very interesting people with a Masonic thread of some importance to bind them together and recommend them to readers of our *Transactions*, who will, no doubt, be duly grateful for the trouble expended on their behalf.

¹ *Dunciad*, end of Bk. i.

Is it a fact that the Papal Bull *In Eminenti* of 1738 was 'published' or 'promulgated' in the technical Roman sense in England towards the close of the eighteenth century? Bro. Williams say that it was, and Bro. Chetwode Crawley implies the same at *A.Q.C.* xxiv., 58.

Biographical notices generally represent Pope as little more than outwardly a conformist to the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church in which he was born and educated. The discussion of this question, which possesses a certain degree of Masonic significance, provides the opportunity to introduce the name of another interesting personage, an intimate friend of the Masonic trio Swift, Arbuthnot and Pope, and also of that other prominent Freemason the Duke of Wharton. So far there is no evidence that Francis Atterbury, Dean of Carlisle (1704) and of Christ-church (1712), Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster (1713) was ever connected with our Order, but such evidence may some day appear, and when it does, need occasion no surprise for many reasons. It was Atterbury who urged Pope to join the Anglican Church on the ground that his conformity to the Roman was simply that of the "outward and visible sign," and Pope's reply that "God only knows" whether such a step would be for him a spiritual gain is certainly not what one would expect from a fervent Roman Catholic. He did, however, go on at once to say that in his "present religious professions he meant as well as he could ever possibly do in another." In his novel, *The Right of Way*, Bro. Sir Gilbert Parker represents some French-Canadian Roman Catholics as looking upon "God knows" (given in answer to a question as to belief in God) as tantamount to a confession of infidelity.

When, in 1723, Atterbury was brought to trial for conspiracy and treason, Pope (8th May) was called as a witness on the Bishop's behalf, and the brilliant speech in defence delivered by the Duke of Wharton is one of the most creditable actions of that unfortunate man's disastrous career.

Bro. Williams quotes without comment the note by Warne (p. 238) that Wharton "died a monk in Spain, 1731." In his last illness the Duke was carried to a Monastery near Tarragona and the monks tended him and buried his corpse, but that he died a *monk* is a fiction.

There is another reference to Wharton worthy of notice. It occurs in Pope's 'fragment' *Sylvia*, which first appeared in 1727:—

Now drinking citron with his Grace and Chartres.

Wharton is here coupled with the super-infamous Col. Francis Chartres, whose name might have passed out of men's minds but for the brilliantly mordant 'epitaph' composed for him by Dr. Arbuthnot. It may be as well to point out that in some of Pope's allusions to Wharton identity is disguised by the name 'Clodio.'

Within the circle of Pope's acquaintance was Dr. John Byrom, of Manchester, F.R.S., Poet and Diarist, Author of the favourite Christmas Hymn, 'Christians, Awake! Salute the happy Morn.' He records (*Journal*, April 6, 1725) a half-jesting proposal to admit him to the Lodge, No. 21, at the Sun, South Side of St. Paul's, and his acceptance with the proviso that he would "come back if there was anything I did not like." Although nothing came of this proposal he is generally identified with 'John Byram' in the 1730 List of the Lodge No. 44, at the Swan in Long Acre, constituted in September, 1725. Byrom was an admirer of Pope and eager to meet him:—

Friday, July 2nd (1725). Went out at nine o'clock to Mr. Walker's . . . he said Pope would get £5000 or £6000 by Homer; I asked if there was no being acquainted with him? he said, yes, if I would write a copy of verses to him he would give them to him.

But Byrom's comments upon Pope's works are not entirely favourable. The famous six-line Epigram on the feud between Handel and Bononcini, which ends:

Strange all this Difference should be
'Twixt Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee!

was written by Byrom early in 1725. It is curious to note that it has been attributed by responsible editors both to Swift (*Miscellanies*, edition 1727) and to Pope (*Globe* edition, *Poetical Works*, 1869).

Bro. Hogarth's engraving showing Pope in the act of white-washing Burlington Gate was reproduced in *A.Q.C.* xxi. as an illustration for Bro. Hextall's paper on 'The Man of Taste.' In spite of Hogarth's efforts to suppress it it must have attracted a considerable amount of notice. In 1762 it served as a model for a political cartoon, 'The Bütifier.'

By a happy chance, the following paragraph appeared in this morning's *Bristol Times and Mirror* (April 30th, 1925):—

Bath Items.

Historic Coat of Arms identified with Beau Nash.

The Director of the Bath Art Gallery (Mr. R. Wright) has identified the Royal Arms carved in stone which adorn the rear of business premises in Northumberland Passage as those of H.R.H. Frederick Prince of Wales, and his Consort. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Bath in 1738, and in recognition of his warm welcome gave the Corporation a loving cup and an oil painting which hangs in the Guild Hall. The Prince also gave £1,000 to the hospital, and presented Beau Nash with a gold snuff box.

In memory of the occasion Nash collected money and erected an obelisk in Queen's Square. This was to have been enriched with two coats of arms, but the work was never completed and Richard Marchant purchased the model of the arms and placed it on his house in Northumberland Passage, where it has remained for 180 years.

Bro. J. WALTER HOBBS writes:—

I desire to add my appreciation of the work of Bro. Williams and the trouble he has taken to bring the subject before us.

I willingly accepted the invitation so kindly expressed by the W.M. to make an inspection of Dean Swift's MSS. at the Library of the South Kensington Museum, although it promised to be a forlorn hope. There is a satisfaction in making an attempt, even if it be unsuccessful, for it clears the ground and warns another enquirer of the sterile nature of the quest; while, of course, the unexpected may happen and a measure of success ensue.

The result of the inspection, however, adds little if anything to the investigation, but I give some of the results in the hope they may prove of some use.

The MSS. form part of the Dyce Collection and should be searched for under that title (Ref. Nos. 505 *et seq.*). They consist of ten Books in the Dean's writing. The entries are meticulous and arranged under headings and divided into Months, Quarters and "Totalls" or a summary for the year. Some of the Titles are as follow:—Lost—Won, clearly by the then prevailing Lotteries, he won a few pounds net a year; Law (not much); Servant—Cloaths—Lodgings—Gifts—Shoes—ME, probably his personal expenditure, as no details are given; Extraordinary, including Dining out, Tavern and Chair and Coach and the like. His total expenditure runs to about £40 a Quarter in England but less in Ireland. The balances which he calls "Remainder" are not carried forward as the items are expenses only. Several of the books contain details of his receipts from his "Livings."

There is nothing directly referring, or referable, to Freemasonry, but some entries may assist to fix times, places and persons:—

505. BOOK 1. Novbr 1st 1702 to Novbr 1st 1703.

Page 1. *Mdm.* Thurs Novb 11th 1703 I went to sea—landed in England on Satrd 13th 1703
Tuesd May 29th 1704 went to sea—landed in Ireld on Thurd June 1 1704

[This note is obviously made after the accounts were ended.]

BOOK 2. Novbr 1 1708 to Novbr 1 1709.

Pp. 3 & 4. Notes about his health wedged in the Margin and top.
Some are:—

Decr 5 Horrible sick
16 Bad fitt at Mrs Bartons
24 Better but dread a fitt
Better still to 2nd

Jan 1709 21 An ill fitt but not to excess

P. 4. Jan 2 Tavrñ Addison 4s. 9d
3 Dinner Addison 2s 6d
21 Chair Addison & Frnds 1s

P. 5. Feb 19 Dinr Addison &c 5s
21 Coch Addison 1s
27 Coch Addison 1s

P. 6. March 27 Chair Lord Sommers & Whartons 1s 8d
30 Tavern Addison &c 5s
April 29 Coch Steel 1s Tavern Steel 1s 6d

P. 7. Left Lond: May 4 1709 on Thursd. Came to Leicester May 7 on Saturd following
Left Leicester Jun 14 1709 came to Chester 15th on Wednesday

P. 8. Details of expenses by the way. Tips &c.
Set sail from Darpool—arrived in Ireland June 29 at 3 in the morning—
Lavacor—Dublin July 4

Pp. 9-12. Expenses there

P. 13.	List of Letters to	Letters from
	include May 10 Steel	May 1 Addison
	15 Lady Lucy	28 Addison
	June 13 Steel	

Back of P. 13, &c. Account of my Livings for the year 1708
I was all this year in England
[i.e., 1708.]

BOOK 3. Private expenses 1709-1710

[Apparently all in Ireland.]

BOOK 4. Ditto 1711-1712

- P. 3. Came to St Martins Street Oct 11 1711 on Thursd:
at 10s a week
Left St Martins Street Thursd: Novbr 29 1711 came
then to Little Panton Street at 10s
a week.
- Jan. 5 1712. Left Mrs Cranes & removed to
Kensington
- July 19 Left Kensington—went to Windsor
- Sept Left Windsor—came to Mrs Hubberts
in Rider Street

[Among the names from whom letters were received is that of Sacheverell. All the other names are of Irish Church folk, State people, and unknown (to me) names.]

BOOK 5. Ditto 1712-1713

- P. 10. Left London on Jun 1 to Chester—Holyhead—Dublin
June 10
- P. 13. Sept 1-12 England

The remainder of the Books are concerned with Ireland, Income of Livings, Collections in the Deanery and St. Patrick's Cathedral and a few notes of his personal belongings and property:—

BOOK 6	Private Accounts	1717-1718
„ 7	... ..	1732-1733
„ 8	... ..	1730-1741
„ 9	... ..	1738-1741

The last is called a private Diary. It has no date but is clearly part of a series. It is in narrative form and contains nothing Masonic or useful for this purpose. It is noted as:—

BOOK 10 Private Diary 1727

It may be added that these Books 6-9 are not of the same character as those 1-5. The latter give some material for deciding where the Dean was during the period covered, but the former do not. They are records mainly of a different character. I judge that the series 1-5 may have been continued to a later date because No. 5 (p. 13, Sept. 1-12 England) contains no expenses in England during that time or later.

The question raised by Bro. Williams in reference to the John Swift in the List of 1730 would, of course, be affected by showing whether or not the Dean was in England at that period, and conversely if it was clearly proved that he was in fact located entirely in Ireland at the material time. From the nature of the entries in Nos. 6 (1717-1718) and 7 (1732-1733) I am satisfied the Dean was in Ireland during those periods. No. 8 (1730-41) is entirely concerned with monetary matters and gives no clue to the Dean's place of abode. There is a list of "Debts and Mortgages due to me," amounting to

£7,000, and some particulars of the value of his Plate and personal belongings, but the main portion is taken up with a detailed account of the Deanery collections at St. Patrick's, and the payments out of them; these were more than the receipts. From the writing I am satisfied the entries were made progressively, as they refer to receipts or payments on the actual dates of them, and in addition against some of the entries are notes upon them such as "a poor collection," and so on. I am, therefore, of opinion that the books must be taken as supporting the inference that the Dean was actually in Ireland during the periods covered.

I should add that it may very well be that the Books and MSS. known to be preserved in Ireland may further elucidate the points raised.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes, in reply:—

My grateful thanks are due to all the Brethren for their kind but discriminating reception of my paper. I have always felt that the discussion which follows (whether oral or written) is an invaluable feature of our gatherings, and to those Brethren who have honoured me by their comments my thanks are especially due.

The Worshipful Master (Bro. J. Heron Lepper) has dealt in detail with the evidence as to the possibility of Dean Swift being identical with the "John Swift" who was recorded as being a Member of the Lodge meeting at the Goat.

I must confess I was not convinced by the arguments of our late Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley. To approach demonstration is one thing, to achieve it is another.

If the title to money or land depended upon the validity of the arguments adduced, no Judge would deem the evidence sufficient.

On this point every Brother must be content to be persuaded in his own mind. Bro. Wonnacott, in *A.Q.C.* xxi., 239, said: "The conclusions of Bro. Dr. Chetwode Crawley remain unassailed. The 'Alex Pope' and 'Jon Swift' on the roll of the Lodge held at the Goat, at foot of the Haymarket (1730), must undoubtedly have been the poet and the Dean, both of them intimate associates and colleagues of Dr. John Arbuthnot, of the Lodge at the Bedford Head, Covent Garden, in 1725, and all of them cronies of the Scriblerus Club. Pope was so closely connected with many of the nobility, and the foremost characters of the literary and artistic world that it is reasonable to presume that it is his name we see in the 1730 list of the members of the Goat Lodge, and not that of a namesake who moved in a far inferior circle, and whose only claim to notoriety was that of an eccentric rake."

Obviously arguments and circumstances which have led to Dr. Chetwode Crawley and Bro. Wonnacott being convinced are not lightly to be dismissed. The negative is more difficult to prove than the affirmative. I should, however, point out that the Brother Swift in the 1730 list is not there called Jon. Swift (as the printer has made Bro. Wonnacott say) but John Swift. Dr. Chetwode Crawley, in Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations*, reproduces Swift's signature (p. xvii.) and pleads that such a signature would naturally form a trap for a careless clerk.

Had the entry in the Grand Lodge Minute Book been "Jon. Swift," any doubt as to identity with the Dean would have been sheer hardihood.

It seems worth while recording in this connection that the Rate Books of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, which I have myself seen at Westminster City Hall, show that during the whole of the crucial period from 1715 to 1740 (when my search ended) there was a "John Swift" in occupation of a house on the East side of Charles Street, Covent Garden (now part of Wellington Street,

Strand). Covent Garden was not a great distance from the Haymarket and possibly this permanent resident was the "John Swift" named in the Lodge list of the Goat at the Foot of the Haymarket. (According to the 1738 *Constitutions* the Apple Tree Tavern, where the preliminary meeting as to Grand Lodge was held in 1716, was in Charles Street, Covent Garden.)

The record made by Bro. Hobbs as to the result of his inspection of Dean Swift's account books is valuable, as it seems to add weight to the negative conclusion against the identification of Dean Swift with the said John Swift. Unfortunately the lists of names preserved in Grand Lodge Minutes leave us much in the dark as to the dates when and the materials from which such lists were compiled.

Bro. Daynes regrets that I have made little or no attempt to add to our knowledge concerning Pope as a Freemason. My paper must speak for itself, but I do not think that anyone named Williams would ever try to prove such a truism as "that similarity of Christian names and surnames must not necessarily be treated as conclusive evidence of identity."

I am sorry that the statement that my paper is "to some extent written on the assumption that our poet is the Alexander Pope named in the Lodge List" should have come as a great shock to Bro. Daynes.

The real danger in arguments is that so many people make assumptions without proclaiming the fact that they are doing so. I could not manufacture evidence. I even suggested doubts so that Brethren might be on their guard, and the whole trend of my paper was to show that Pope was very un-Masonic in his dealings with most of the Freemasons named by him.

It seems desirable that more should be known of the namesake of Alexander Pope to whom (quoting from Gould, *A.Q.C.* xi., 194) Bro. Daynes refers and to whom also Bro. Wonnacott alludes as an eccentric rake.

I stated in my paper that there was an Alexander Pope who travelled from Caithness to see the Poet; but obviously he is not "the well-known London character."

Bro. Gould says: "the namesake of the poet (if my memory is not at fault, a London tradesman) was the Freemason described as 'Alex. Pope' in the list of 1730." It was not often that Bro. Gould left the factors of a problem in this indefinite position.

The *D.N.B.* only gives particulars of three Alexander Popes: (1) The Poet; (2) the namesake mentioned by me: who was a minister of the Church of Scotland, and (3) Alexander Pope, an actor and painter (1763-1835).

In answer to another point raised by Bro. Daynes, I think that there seems to have been a large proportion of Freemasons at that time who were writers and publishers, and so their names came into Pope's writings; particularly the *Dunciad*.

We are all indebted to Bro. Daynes for his painstaking comments on the membership and history of the Goat Lodge, even though the result proves to have only a negative bearing on the topic under discussion. His quotations from Noorthouck's edition of the *Constitutions* are very interesting. That edition is one of the numerous books I have not read.

As to the beehive symbol; our Masonic ancestors had a much more likely source than Pope's writings for its adoption, and one which seems to have been lost sight of.

The Monument on Fish Street Hill commemorating the Great Fire was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and the large relief carving on the Western side of the pedestal was carved by Gabriel Cibber.

It seems to be now generally accepted (in spite of the fact that Dr. Anderson calls him Grand Master) that Wren was probably a Freemason. That much mistrusted writer also says (1738 *Constitutions*, p. 106) that the said Gabriel Cibber was appointed one of Wren's Grand Wardens.

(Anderson's account of the Monument is at page 134 of the 1738 Edition.)

This Monument, which has 345 steps, was begun in 1671 and finished in 1677. (Pope was not born until 1688. Dr. Watts, to whose well-known lines about the "little busy bee," the vogue for the Beehive emblem is sometimes attributed, was born in 1674.)

In Hatton's *A New View of London*, published 1708 (pages 54, 55 and 56) is a full description of the Monument and of the Relief Carving by Cibber, which is an allegorical representation of the rebuilding of London. There are eleven principal Figures, but I only quote in part:—

"6. Another of the said 3 women is Ichnographia with Rule and Compasses in one hand (the instruments whereby plans and designs are delineated in due proportion) and a Scrol partly unrolled in the other hand whereon such designs are to be drawn; and near this is a Bee-hive, the known Emblem of Industry."

"8. Providence with his winged Hand containing an Eye."

I recently inspected this carving in September, 1925, and it is very well preserved. The Bee-hive is prominent.

Bro. Songhurst tells me that Noorthouck¹ substitutes "Architecture" for "Ichnographia" as the name of the said woman.

In the British Museum (K.24 16 h) is a large engraving (undated but probably contemporaneous) showing a representation of the carved work on the West side of the Pedestal of the Monument. Sold by John Bowles.

This shows the Beehive (which is explained as representing Industry) very distinctly and it also shows a Mason's Square (which was often called the Rule) and Compasses in one of the hands of "Architecture." (The engraving is reversed; that is, it depicts the carving as it would be seen in a mirror.)

As to Christopher Smart, I spent some time a few years ago in examining his collected writings to see whether there was anything in them bearing on Freemasonry. The Masonic Song was not among them, nor did I find anything else necessarily Masonic.

I was very mildly called to account for designating Martha Blount as "Mrs. Martha Blount." As Pope addressed her as such in the letter quoted by me in that way dated 6th October 1714 (see Elwin and Courthope, vol. ix., 251) and also in numerous other letters and when making a poem in her honour, I do not feel very blameworthy. It was quite common and proper in Pope's days to address an unmarried lady as "Mrs."

Bro. Tuckett's notes are mainly supplementary and call for reception rather than comment.

As to the promulgation of the Bull *In Eminenti*, I cannot at present carry the matter further than the statement in Dr. Chetwode Crawley's paper. It seems there is no doubt that, about the time mentioned, the Roman Clergy took steps to bring home to the conscience of their flocks the obligation imposed upon them by that document.

As to the note in Warne's edition that Wharton "died a monk," I purposely did not correct that note. Probably the writer only meant that he died in a Monastery. Bro. Tuckett's authority as corrector of that note-maker is greater than mine.

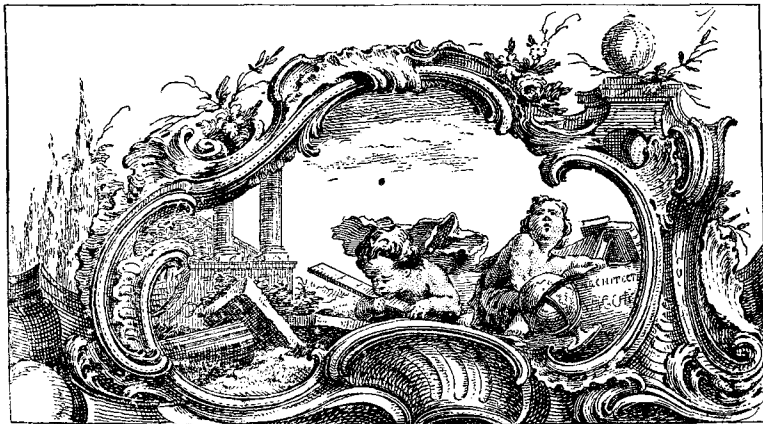
Bro. Tuckett refers to the desirability of ascertaining the meaning of the word "Gormogon." The same desire is expressed by *Verus Commodus* in the postscript to his Second letter (see Gould iii., 486). That postscript begins thus:—

¹ *History of London*, 1773, p. 563; *Constitutions*, 1784, p. 155.

“ Since the closing of this letter I have had the pleasure to receive an account, which I much desir’d, of the *Derivation* of the word GORMOGON; and as it is very curious and significant and is not made a Secret of, I could not but inform you of it. It is, is seems, a *Compound word* in the *Chineze Tongue*, signifying, A person made illustrious by *Social Love*, by the *Excellency* of his *Genius*, and by the *Antiquity* of his *Descent*. For GOR, in that most expressive Language, signifies *Brother*, or *Friend*, the most valuable Title on Earth; MO is a Word of Eminence, prefix’d to a Name or Thing, to distinguished its *Excellency*; and GON, signifies *Antiquity* or *Length of Continuance*, and it is observable, that the Province of MO-GON in *China*, which was formerly the Residence, Birth-place, and Paternal Inheritance of the Great *Chin-Quaw-Ky-Po* (as its Name [MOGON] denotes *The most Excellent and most Ancient Kingdom*) is one of the most plentiful and flourishing Provinces of that vast Empire.”

The explanation so given to *Verus Commodus* seems adequate. It is practically contemporaneous. The word is obviously a manufactured word. It was occasionally split up into the three syllables. The founders would be likely to endeavour to propagate their Society, and enlist new adherents, by giving an honourable and attractive interpretation to their concocted title.

The number and importance of the topics raised by my commentators must be the justification for my somewhat lengthy reply.



St. John's Day in Harvest.

WEDNESDAY, 24th JUNE, 1925.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., I.P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., S.W.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., S.D., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M., as I.G.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Fred S. Terry, W. Maurice, J. E. A. Sorrell, A. E. Gurney, B. Telepneff, B. Ivanoff, E. F. Adams, W. J. Williams, R. C. Rann, Walter Dewes, Ivor Grantham, J. Walter Hobbs, R. R. Moor, L. G. Wearing, G. Trevelyan Lee, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., W. F. Swan, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., Arthur Heiron, F. C. Bickell, Gilbert W. Daynes, Alfred Gates, A.G.D.C., W. T. J. Gun, F. Houghton, J. F. R. Darbyshire, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., Wm. Lewis, A. D. Bowl, F. P. Reynolds, Geo. P. Simpson, E. P. Stevens, Geo. C. Williams, R. Matthews, Wm. E. A. Candy, R. J. Sadleir, R. Wheatley, J. G. Victor Sapp, C. G. Gurr, Geo. Young, G. W. South, A. N. Tyte, F. W. Le Tall, J. F. Vesey Fitzgerald, W. Stubbings, H. A. Matheson, Herbert J. Weise, Ernest S. Beal and Thos. M. Copland.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. L. Heckenlively, P.M., Solomon Lodge No. 271, Springfield, Mo., U.S.A.; W. R. Makins, P.M., York Lodge No. 236; J. J. Nolan, P.Dis.G.W., Burma; B. Claxton, Boro' Bethnal Green Lodge No. 2896; H. W. Matthews, Clapton Lodge No. 1365; G. B. Leith, P.G.Ins.Works, Vic.; R. Cross, Three Banks Lodge No. 4557; and Allan Ramsay, Bounds Green Lodge No. 4406.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. Gordon P. G. Hills, A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; W. W. Covey-Crump, J. W.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; E. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; and F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

On Ballot taken:—

BRO. HENRY THOMAS CART DE LAFONTAINE, of 52, Albert Court, Kensington Gore, London, S.W.7. Past Grand Deacon. Author of *The Possibilities of Freemasonry; Some Aspects of French Freemasonry; The Ancient Egyptian Mysteries; The Idealism of Masonry; The Ancient Egyptian Initiation Ceremony and Our Own; Roman Catholicism and Freemasonry; Cagliostro and Egyptian Masonry; The First Doctrinal Manifesto of French Freemasonry; Was Dante a Mason?; Freemasonry in France; The Lodge of Les Neuf Soeurs and the Initiation of Voltaire; The Unknown Philosopher; etc.*,

and

BRO. GILBERT WILLIAM DAYNES, of The Maples, Brundall, near Norwich, Norfolk. Solicitor. Union Lodge No. 52; Norfolk Lodge No. 2852; S.W. Saint Giles Lodge No. 4569. Author of *The Growth of Speculative Masonry; The Untrodden Paths of Masonic Research; A Masonic Contract of A.D. 1432; The Duke of Lorraine and English Freemasonry in 1731; Some Notes on the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission; Some Records of the Lodge Constituted at the Maid's Head, Norwich, in 1724; etc.*,

were regularly elected joining members of the Lodge.

One Lodge and Nineteen Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

On the proposition of Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, seconded by Bro. John Stokes, it was unanimously resolved that "We the Officers, Members, and Correspondence Circle of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076 on the Registry of the United Grand Lodge of England on this the two hundredth anniversary of the first recorded mention of the R.W. Grand Lodge of Ireland, do hereby offer to the Lodge of Research No. 200 on the Registry of Ireland, our fraternal greetings on this historic date. We greet you as brethren whose labours are directed towards the same ends as our own, and we trust that your Lodge will continue to endure, holding up the lamp of true Masonic knowledge in the Sister Constitution."

The SECRETARY drew attention to a very interesting CERTIFICATE issued on the 7th day of the 7th month of the year 5777, by the Lodge "de la parfaite Egalité des Officiers du Regiment Walsh" at the Orient of Bapaume. The Certificate was presented to the Q.C. Lodge by Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine and J. Heron Lepper, who were cordially thanked for their gift.

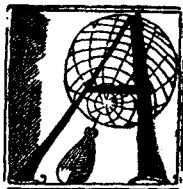
Bro. J. HERON LEPPER read the following paper:—

"THE POOR COMMON SOLDIER," A STUDY OF IRISH AMBULATORY WARRANTS.

BY BRO. JOHN HERON LEPPER, W.M., Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 2076.

I.

THE INFLUENCES OF RACE, ECONOMICS AND TRADITION.



LL through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Irish were the Swiss of the West. In normal times of peace the population increased so rapidly that the island could not contain it, and, as a consequence, the unwanted surplus had to find its way either across the Atlantic or into the standing armies of Europe.

France, Austria and Spain drew some of their best troops from this nursery of soldiers. The Thirty Years' War is full of the names of highly placed Irish officers. In the War of the Spanish Succession the best General fighting for King Philip V. was an Irishman named Mahony, and Lord Peterborough is said to have been so anxious to secure him for the British service that he actually proposed a special Act of Parliament should be passed to enable Mahony to hold a commission in our army.¹ Again, at the siege of Gibraltar in 1727, Irish regiments in the Spanish service were fighting against their own countrymen holding the Rock.²

In spite of all efforts to prevent the practice, the Irish Brigades in the service of France were constantly recruited from home all through the eighteenth century, and were maintained right up to the time of the Revolution, when many of their best officers passed into the British service.

In Austria, one of the few Captains who ever achieved any success against the great King of Prussia was Field-Marshal Brown, a Kerry man; and in the Annual Register for 1766 we read of St. Patrick's Day being celebrated in Vienna, when Count Mahony, the Spanish ambassador, gave an entertainment in honour of the occasion at which all the guests were of Irish descent, including "Count Lacy, President of the Council of War, the Generals O'Donnell, M'Guire, O'Kelly, Brown, Plunket . . . with the principal Officers of State, who, to shew their respect for the Irish nation, wore crosses in honour of the day, as did the whole Court."

But it was not merely beneath the banners of England's enemies that the Irish soldier was found, and there are but few Irish families who cannot point to some soldier ancestor who wore the King's coat. The loyalty of such troops has always been beyond question. One instance will serve as example: so numerous were the Irish soldiers who followed Charles II. into exile that a special name was adopted to distinguish them, that of "Ensignmen." Naturally enough, as these exiles were noted for their loyalty to the Royal family, they

¹ *Memoirs of Capt. George Carleton, 1728.*

² The most notable military Mason present on either side at the siege of Gibraltar in 1727 was a Scot, one James Keith, then serving as a volunteer with the Spanish Army. He later became the famous Field-Marshal and, incidentally, Provincial Grand Master of Russia under the G.L. England in 1740. See his "Memoirs" (Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1843) for information about the foreign troops then in the Spanish service (page 69).

were the very last to be put into repossession of their property on the Restoration, so, as a rule, all their descendants can show for this loyalty is the honour of counting an "Ensign" as ancestor, in itself not an altogether barren compensation,¹ while fidelity and self-sacrifice are claims to remembrance, as Shakespeare considered they ought to be:—

He who can endure
To follow the fortunes of a fallen lord
Doth conquer him that did his master conquer,
And earns a place i' the story.

In the Wars of the Revolution, this nation remained in the bulk faithful to the Stuarts, and, once again, the flower of the fighting men who survived followed the discrowned King into exile.

II.

THE WILD GEESE.

All through the eighteenth century Ireland was a great recruiting ground, not only for the Continental, but also for the British armies.

The path of the Irish recruit in either case was full of pitfalls. If he joined the "Wild Geese," as those enlisted for foreign services were termed, he ran a good chance of being hanged before escaping abroad; for, though there were periods during which the English and Irish Parliaments encouraged the practice as a means of getting rid of an unruly element at home, the same element began to turn up again so awkwardly on many of the battlefields of Europe that this remedy fell into disfavour. One of the principal and most dangerous duties incumbent on our old acquaintance, Brother Thomas Griffith, Custom-house officer, actor, and first Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, was arresting such "Wild Geese" on their flight to France or Spain:—

Dublin, June 7th. This morning the undernam'd Persons were apprehended, at the End of the North Wall on the Strand, by Mr. Thomas Griffith and Mr. Hamilton, Officers belonging to his Majesty's Revenue, as they were upon their Duty. A Guard of Soldiers was, by Order of the Government immediately dispatch'd thither, who conducted them up to the Castle, in order to their being examin'd, it seems they have already confess'd they were going to the Pretender, and had Arms and other Necessaries for that Purpose. They say their Gang consisted of about Forty Two, and that the rest are actually gone. The names of the Persons in Custody are as follows [ten names].

(*Hume's Courant*, Wed., 8 June, 1726.²)

The Government tried to counter this drain abroad by impressing Irish to serve in the British Army; thus we read in 1726³ that the sloop *Drake* has arrived at Portsmouth with 130 impressed men from Ireland. This system of conscription may help to account for the number of typically Irish names one finds in the English regiments of the period; though, as I have pointed out before, there were also economic reasons and a racial traditional impulse tending towards the same result.

Life in the rank and file in those days was a hard one. There were other circumstances which made it particularly hard for the Irish soldier. His speech and his presumed inclination towards Jacobitism made him an object of suspicion and dislike. In most cases he suffered from another disability as well. The following quotations from the contemporary Press will indicate what I mean:—

¹ Ensign Andrew Lepper, d. 1669, was one of these men.

² I am indebted to Bro. Philip Crosslé for this reference.

³ *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 29th April.

Yesterday morning a Centinel of the third regiment of Foot Guards was whipt in Hide-Park for being a Papist and then drummed out of the Regiment.

(*Whitehall Evening Post*, 4 January, 1726.)

No doubt sometimes the conduct of the victims contributed towards their receiving a harsh sentence. In the same newspaper a few days later (13th January) an account is given of "Three centinels whipt for desertion, being a Papist, & cursing the Colonel," the three crimes being apparently of equal magnitude in the eyes of the Draconian military code of the period.

I trust that I shall not be looked upon as too fantastic a fanatic when I suggest that one of the ways in which the Irish soldier found some consolation in a life that must have been always hard, often dangerous, and never very joyful, was by the practice of Freemasonry, and that this accounts in part for the large number of Irish Military Lodges which came into being in the eighteenth century.

The present essay has not been undertaken to celebrate the many distinguished Captains who belonged to the Irish Craft; the tale of the Military Lodges is, in the main, a tale of the rank and file. Most of these ambulatory bodies were no more aristocratic in their composition than the first Lodges of the Antients in England. One or two of them, of course, were formed of officers, but the bulk of them drew their strength from ordinary privates, corporals and sergeants, the pages of whose fates are even more completely blank to us than those in the registers which should record their names.

My object now is to try to give you some better acquaintance with this undistinguished majority, for I consider they are as well entitled to a biographer as the Cootes, the Cornwallises, the Moiras, or the Wolseleys, great as is our pride in these famous Generals who were also of our Fraternity.

III.

THE EARLIEST MILITARY LODGES.

From what has gone before, it will not surprise us to hear that the earliest Irish Military Lodge of which we have any tradition is said to have existed in a Regiment in the French service.¹

The authorities for this tradition are the Lists of the Grand Orient and Grande Loge of France, and also Kloss *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich*, p. 249. The article by "Teder" in *L'Initiation*, quoted by Bro. John Yarker in *A.Q.C.* xx., 21, is in several respects misleading. Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett has been kind enough to supply me with a vast number of references correcting not only misstatements with regard to this Franco-Irish Lodge itself, but also errors in regard to the history of the Regiment in which it was held, and, thanks to him, I have discovered that certain passages in a couple of books on which I had been relying are not strictly accurate as regards dates.

The story is this. In 1772 the Grande Loge de France formally recognised as the Senior Field Lodge in the French Army *La Loge Parfaite Égalité* in the Regiment of Walshe and admitted its claim to date its constitution from 25th March, 1688, and this was confirmed by the Grand Orient in 1777.

The history of Walshe's Regiment appears to follow this sequence. It was raised in 1661, being composed of two battalions taken from detached companies then serving in Ireland, where at that time there was no other infantry. It received the name of the Royal Irish and later, in 1698, when the Bodyguard of James I. was joined up with it, that of the Royal Guards.

¹ The first instance of the kind is that of Mary Chapel Lodge of Edinburgh, some of whose members when accompanying the Scots Army into England in 1649 initiated Sir Robert Moray at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and had the fact recorded in the books later; thus showing that the idea of an Ambulatory Lodge was not foreign to Scots Masonry. (See Gould: *Military Lodges*, p. 16.)

The Duke of Ormonde was its first Colonel and was succeeded (probably subsequent to July, 1688, the date of the Great Duke's death) by an Englishman named Dorrington (or Dorington). The latter was taken prisoner at the battle of Aughrim, but was released shortly afterwards and rejoined his regiment in France, whither it was transported in 1691. Dorrington died a Lieutenant-General in the French service. The regiment was then given to M. de Rothe. This latter was succeeded in the command by his son, who died in 1766. Lord Wentworth Dillon, Count of Roscommon, then became commander of the regiment, which received the new title of Roscommon. Dillon died in 1770, and the regiment was then given to M. de Walshe, Comte de Serrant, and took the name of Walshe, "which it has to-day," as General Arthur Dillon declared in 1791.¹ Walshe's Regiment was incorporated with the "Corsican Legion which takes the name of the Dauphiné" in May, 1773, but was soon made independent again and raised to two battalions by July, 1776, apparently by the mediation of the Prince de Montbarrey. It ceased to exist during the French Revolution.

If the foregoing be the true facts, then we may conclude that the statement in the *dossiers* of the Grand Orient and Grande Loge simply referred to the regiment by the current name of Walshe, which it was holding when the matter came before them (in 1772 and 1777), and that neither of these governing bodies troubled much about what name the regiment bore when the Lodge was constituted in 1688. This point is not unimportant, because it seems certain that units from various other Irish Regiments were drafted into the Walshe Regiment from time to time during the eighteenth century, and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the Lodge may have been introduced by one of these added drafts.

The most pregnant fact of all in support of the tradition is this: at the time that the Grande Loge de France granted the Lodge *Parfaite Égalité* precedence as aforesaid, the Lodge *Amitié et Fraternité* at Dunkirk, which claimed to have existed from 1721, was granted seniority only as from 1756. Thus the claims were evidently subjected to some enquiry. Is it assuming too much to believe that the Lodge *Parfaite Égalité* was able to produce evidence to satisfy the scrutineers as to the date of its supposed origin in 1688?²

Having given full consideration to the facts as we have them, I venture the opinion that there is nothing impossible, nay improbable, in presuming a Lodge to have existed in a Franco-Irish Regiment long prior to 1770. If the students of Trinity College, Dublin, were joining the Freemasons in 1688, why not the soldiers; indeed, the man of the sword was a far more likely candidate.

Even if an organised Lodge was not found among the expatriates of 1688, the Craft might readily have been introduced by subsequent recruits. It is even quite possible that one of the early Irish Warrants, which we know to have existed but cannot place, may have found its way to France to this particular regiment, or to one of the drafts which filled up the gaps in its ranks from time to time. Just about the time that the first Irish Warrants were being issued, recruiting for the French service was permitted in Ireland.

The tradition does not lose in probability when we find that in 1760 French prisoners-of-war in Belfast were able to prove themselves Masons to the satisfaction of the local brethren. The incident is not without significance, because at this particular date the Belfast Freemasons were sticklers for the strict Antient forms,³ whereas most of the evidence we have of contemporary French Masonry shows it to have had a Modern tendency. Both forms are thus shown to have been co-existent in France in the year 1760. Whether or not we suppose a derivative Irish origin for the Antient variety hardly matters;

¹ Foregoing information abridged from General Arthur Dillon's *Address to the National Assembly, 1792*, translated by J. P. Leonard: Dublin, Duffy & Co., n.d., pages 40-1.

² For all the most vital points in the foregoing statement I am indebted to Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett.

³ e.g., It was a Freemason made in No. 183, Belfast, who was largely responsible for forming the first Antient Lodge at Philadelphia in 1758.

it is enough if I have shown that on the collected evidence the existence of a Military Lodge at a very early date in an Irish-French Regiment need not be regarded as an impossible myth.

We should also not forget that a similar tradition exists regarding a Lodge in an English Regiment. "The Duke of Norfolk's Lodge," warranted as No. 58 on the Scottish Registry in 1747, claimed at that time that it had been "erected into a Mason body, bearing the title aforesaid, as far back as 1685."¹ I can see no reason why such bodies should not have existed in English or Irish as well as in Scots Regiments, and an instance of the last is undoubtedly found at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1649.

IV.

THE FIRST MILITARY WARRANTS.

The first mention I can find of the word "Warrant" used in a Masonic sense occurs in the General Regulations of 1720, Section VIII (as printed by Anderson, 1723), where it is laid down that brethren "must obtain the *Grand-Master's* Warrant to join in forming a *new Lodge*." And the section continues: "If any Set or Number of Masons shall take upon themselves to form a *Lodge* without the *Grand-Master's* Warrant, the *regular Lodges* are not to countenance them, etc."

I think the word "Warrant" here is merely a synonym for permission, but there is little doubt that when the Irish Masons came across this passage on studying their *Anderson* diligently, as they did, they read into it the necessity of obtaining a written document of some kind, to be preserved and flaunted as publicly as possible to prove their Lodge's regularity, much as the married woman in old-fashioned novels was wont to boast of being able to "show her lines." Whatever the reason, the written Warrant came into existence in Ireland long before any such document was thought of here in England.

There is evidence of a sort, that charters of a Masonic kind were being issued, and preserved, as early as 1727 in Dublin, but I incline to the belief that these were more in the nature of an English "Deputation." The very first of a form which has persisted, with trifling variations, till to-day, was granted on the 1st February, 1731/2, and within the next few months many Irish Lodges which had been meeting for a considerable time in their own right as "time immemorial" came forward to provide themselves with one of the new diplomas of Masonic regularity.

The difference between this practice and that prevailing in England is at once apparent: such a thing as a "time immemorial" Lodge working without a Warrant is unknown in Ireland, though at least three still existing have every right to the title. Other differences between the two oldest Masonic Constitutions were not long in manifesting themselves. On the 7th November, 1732, the Grand Lodge of Ireland issued the first Military Warrant, later numbered 11, to be held in the Royal Scots, and the Lodge continued to work in that Regiment till the year 1847. This was a great change from the English practice of assigning a regular place of meeting to each Lodge, whereby many of the earliest became known by the names of taverns, and sometimes retained them for years after they had ceased to assemble in those particular houses. I think that the Irish practice must have been different, because it never was the custom there, though the Lodges usually met in taverns just as they did here, for the Lodge to take its name from the house it frequented. One is inclined to conclude that for the first half of the eighteenth century the main idea of a Lodge in Ireland centred in the members who composed it, not in the locality where it met: at all events, it is certain that in those early days the Irish Lodges changed their taverns incessantly and their towns not infrequently,

¹ Gould: *Mil. Lo.*, p. 40.

apparently without asking leave of any authority. It is also almost certain that such migrations were tolerated up to about 1750—in other words, then, Ireland was the home of Ambulatory Lodges. Hence the issue of Warrants to travelling regiments in 1732; and hence, I believe, the true explanation of that strange occurrence in 1735 at the Grand Lodge of England, when a Lodge asked permission to attend and take part in the deliberations by virtue of holding an Irish Warrant.¹ Again, there are indications to suggest that No. 26, the Irish Lodge in which Laurence Dermott was initiated and subsequently passed the Chair, having been originally domiciled in Co. Sligo, migrated to Dublin, and later to London. I need not go into evidence, because we are now concerned only with a peculiar point of difference between England and Ireland in Masonic jurisprudence, and I mention these things as illustrations of it—the salient fact is that the Grand Lodge of Ireland recognized migratory bodies of Masons, and, apparently, the Grand Lodge of England did not.²

The real importance of the phenomenon is two-fold: firstly, it shows different traditions of discipline established in the two oldest Masonic Constitutions in the very earliest years of their organized existence as such³; secondly, as a result of upholding this tradition, that Ambulatory Lodges were legitimate, Irish Masonic practices obtained a footing in the British Army, and, consequently, all over the English-speaking world. Such an influence could not have been foreseen, yet it is likely to be maintained now as long as the Craft itself.

The question must now be faced: why should these brethren in the Royal Scots, and in other regiments as well, have applied to the Grand Lodge of Ireland for Warrants? Perhaps the reply simply is this: they wished to take part in the assemblies of the Grand Lodge of the country where they were stationed. Then, there is always something imposing in a document with seal and signatures; and at that period the only authority issuing such documents was the Grand Lodge of Ireland. But I believe the real reason was, that at a very early date the Irish stationary Lodges determined not to recognize unwarranted Military Lodges and to debar their members from the right of visiting.

V.

THE POOR COMMON SOLDIER.

The most fascinating part of any work of research is the occasional discovery of those little touches of human nature that can brighten the dullest facts, and though most of our ancient military brethren are nothing more than names to us, or even less than that, sometimes they come to life again in a scrap of contemporary evidence.

We do not know the name of the Worshipful Master of No. 92 held in the 25th Regt. (King's Own Borderers) in 1751, but a Minute of Shamrock Lodge No. 27, Cork, reveals to us that he was a good Mason. Some Brethren in Cork, including former members of No. 27, the Provincial Grand Master's own Lodge, had got hold of a Warrant and were looking round for some regular

¹ Songhurst: *Minutes*, G.L., Eng., p. 259.

² The earliest Scots Military Warrant was issued to the 55th Regt. in 1743; the earliest by the rival Grand Lodges of England in 1755, the Moderns winning the race by a few months. (Gould: *Mil. Lo.*, pp. 39-41.) It is questionable, however, whether we should not award to the Premier Grand Lodge the palm for having formed the very first regular Military Lodge, though a stationary one, namely, St. John of Jerusalem Lodge at Gibraltar in 1728.

³ From this we might argue all sorts of things, such as the growth of divergent customs owing to different circumstances (*e.g.*, wandering bands of Masons in Ireland, few districts being able to supply a fixed operative Lodge with settled employment); and, beyond doubt, a continuous existence of the institution in both countries stretching back for many years previous to the establishment of a Grand Lodge in either. It also seems worth recalling that the G.M. of Ireland who issued these Warrants was also the P.G.M. of England, and as we should naturally expect him to have favoured the English practice (he was an English Mason, made in a London Lodge), there must have been some traditionary basis for the divergence.

Lodge to "eninstall," or, as we should say now, constitute them as a Lodge. Lodge 27 objected, for it would seem they had not obtained this Warrant in a regular manner. Finding that none of the Munster Lodges would install them, the irregular body applied to the W.M. of No. 92, then stationed in that city. The result is told in a Minute dated 24th August, 1751:—

The Sec. was directed to write a L^{tr}e. of Thanks to the Worpfull Master of No. 92 Lodge, for his comendable behaviour in refusing to Eninstall some Scandalous and Excluded Masons, who (at the instance of Mr. Giffard Craven) met at the Globe for that purpose, but were very justly rejected wth scorn and Contempt by s^d Master, tho' but a poor Common Soldier.

It needs very little imagination to perceive the recompense this Brother might have had from the seceding Brethren of the aristocratic No. 27, if he had chosen to give them a sort of regularity by installing the new Lodge. This "poor common soldier" had evidently a soul above bribery, and a sense of honour worthy of the Fraternity and of the Regiment to which he belonged.

His regiment was one of those that took part in the victory of Minden and subsequent wars in Germany, and two scraps of information connecting both regiment and Lodge with these events have come down to us. Thus we hear that on 31st May, 1763, "the old Colours of the 25th Regiment of Foot, Lord George Lennox's, quartered at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, being much wounded in Germany, particularly at the glorious and ever memorable battle of Minden, were buried with military honours."¹ While R. F. Gould states,² on the authority of the Minutes of St. Abb Lodge No. 70, Eyemouth, Berwickshire, that this Lodge No. 92 having lost its Lodge chest at Munster in Germany, a new one was "consecrated" at Berwick, 2nd December, 1763. Could it be that the Lodge chest was fitted up to act as an altar? Perhaps it had a panel to contain the Warrant, as in a frame, and the consecration referred to may have been that of a duplicate Warrant. It seems to have been customary to reconstitute a Lodge when it had to obtain a duplicate of its original Warrant. It is in this sense I read the entry on St. Abb's Lodge Minutes, and the suggestion seems borne out by the Grand Lodge records, for the first and last registrations we have of this Lodge are in 1764, eighteen in all. It was founded, according to the Irish 1761 Roll, 4th October, 1749, and cancelled in 1815. Lodge 92 took an active part in Masonic work at Gibraltar, 1789-91, and provided Andalusia with a Provincial Grand Master in 1789.

These glimpses at the activities of No. 92, gathered from mere chance references, are enough to show that it was animated by a fine spirit. The unknown warrior who presided over it in 1751 evidently passed on a good tradition to his successors in the Chair. Can any of us hope to do more than that?

It is, alas! quite exceptional to learn anything so intimate about an eighteenth-century military Mason as the foregoing: few of them are heard of, except when in distress. We get items such as the following from official records:—

Read a petition in behalf of the widow & children of B^r. Thomas Pye of N^o. 305, held in the 4th Horse, who was killed by an explosion in the barracks—deferred. (Minute, G.L., Ire., 1st November, 1781.)

Such a case is, of course, an oft-told tale in the Craft.

¹ Unnamed newspaper, quoted in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vi., 60.

² *A.Q.C.* v., 101.

Here is another Minute:—

Read a Petn. of the Lodge No. 273 of the 14th Dragoons—in favour of Bro. Jno Stoddart, Quarter Master in said Regiment—praying the G.L. to intercede with the Lord Lieut. or Commander in Chief, in his behalf—Ordered that the said Petn. be referr'd to our worthy Br. Col. Cradock, with the request of this G.L.—that he will kindly use his friendly & Brotherly influence in behalf of the said Br. Stoddart. (Minutes, G.L., Ire., 5th Sept., 1793.)

My next illustration comes from America during the War of Independence. The place is Philadelphia. The period one when things were going very badly for the Continentals:—

11th May, 1779. Bros. Jasper William Lewis of Lodge 290 Register of Ireland & Bro. John Hicklrey of New England have represented their Wants & distress in a petition to the Masters of the different Lodges when a Collection was made for their relief in this Lodge amounting to £42:16:9. (Minute of No. 1 Philadelphia; quoted in *Freemasonry in Pennsylvania*: Barratt & Sachse, vol. i., p. 343.)

Lodge 290 was held in the 39th Regt., and it looks as if Bro. Lewis might have been a prisoner-of-war at the time: if so, the charity extended by his American brethren is so much the more splendidly generous.

Sometimes the military Brother appears in connexion with the Charity Fund in quite another rôle than that of petitioner:—

Read a letter from Lodge 921 held in the 17th Regt. station'd in India with a donation to the Fund of Charity of 102 Sicca Rupees which after being exchang'd into British & then Irish money with Expences of Commission—registering Members & postage leaves £8:7:3½ clear—Order'd that the warmest thanks of this G.L. be presented to this Lodge for their ardent exertions in the cause of Masonry accompanied by an Ahimon Rheizon. (Minute, G.L., Ire., 3rd December, 1812.)

D.G. Secretary Graham's emotion on this occasion has led him to spell the name of this famous book even more peculiarly than usual.

Again, on the 22nd March, 1799, Lodge 212 in the Royal Downshire Militia subscribed £11:7:6 to the Masonic Female Orphan School, while the Brethren of the same Lodge sent individual subscriptions amounting to £23:17:9—total £35:5:3, an enormous sum for an Irish Lodge to dispose of in those days.

Prisoners-of-war were occasionally to the Grand Lodge of Ireland a whirlwind of expense against which it was difficult to stand erect. Thus on the 6th December, 1810, at a time when its finances were exhausted as an outcome of the various Seton lawsuits, it had to send relief to thirty-two of its military members who were prisoners in France; no more than one guinea could be found for each, nor could the benefaction be repeated later.

The only other thing that may be stated generally about our military Brethren of the eighteenth century is that they exercised to the full their right of visit, which in those days was looked upon as a duty as well as a privilege. We may be grateful to them for exercising it, for the records of these visits are sometimes all the evidence we have of the continued existence of a Lodge, or of the name of one of its members.

Wherever they visited, the military Brethren would be sure to express their opinion, if they found anything in the local ritual at variance with their own ideas; and instances could be quoted to show that sometimes the Irish Brethren expressed these protests too forcibly. As nearly all the military Lodges

followed the Antient ritual, it is easy to see what a force they must have been in spreading the doctrines of that system.¹

I deeply regret that I am unable to offer you an example of an eighteenth-century military Lodge assembling for labour and conferring degrees under fire, as happened to one of their descendants, Pioneer Lodge No. 420 I.C., in 1916²; I have no doubt that such occurrences did actually take place, say, during one of the many sieges of Gibraltar; but if they occurred they have been left unrecorded, so far as my present knowledge goes.

VI.

WARS AND WARRANTS.

The fifth decade of the eighteenth century shows a tremendous increase in the number of military Warrants issued by the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Being the period of the first two Silesian Wars, recruiting for the British Army went busily forward in Ireland, 1740-50, and regimental Masons were thus brought into contact with the Grand Lodge of that country. It is extremely probable that many of the Army Warrants issued during this decade were merely duplicates of others bearing the same numbers, issued earlier and lost during the campaigns on the Continent. At all events, at this time we find some Regimental Warrants being issued that bore numbers senior to the regular sequence.³

A good example of the issue of such a duplicate Warrant to replace an older lost document is that of the famous Minden Lodge No. 63 in the 20th Regt. A new charter was issued in December, 1748, the three grantees being Lord George Sackville, Lieut.-Col. Edward Cornwallis, and Captain Milburne.⁴ The original Warrant must have been issued between November, 1736, and February, 1737. Once again the Lodge was revived without fees in 1812, having apparently continued working up to that date, though officially cancelled in 1801, nothing having been heard of it in Dublin since 1786. It finally went out of existence about the time of the Indian Mutiny, the last registration having taken place in 1852, while a note in the Grand Lodge Records states: "Warrant, jewels, etc.

¹ "The Irish Lodges, however, always worked according to the system in vogue among the so-called Ancient Masons, and the result in America, where the influence of the Army Lodges made itself chiefly felt, was very marked. The customs of the Scottish Regimental Lodges were in harmony with those of the Irish, and the older Grand Lodge of England was too sparsely represented among the Military Forces of the Crown to exercise any counter-influence, if, indeed, her Field Lodges in foreign parts did not—as I imagine must have been generally the case—acquire the tone and character of the vast majority of these associations. Hence, the pre-dominance in North America of the 'Ancients' over their rivals the titular 'Moderns' must be ascribed to the influx of Regimental Lodges from the Old World, and to their dissemination of the principles and the practice of what was then termed 'Ancient Masonry' throughout the continent of America." (Gould: *Mil. Lo.*, pp. 35-6.) While it would have been more correct to say that the Antients worked according to the system of the Irish and Scottish Grand Lodges, the rest of Gould's statement is beyond cavil. In Pennsylvania, however, the triumph of Antient Masonry was not due to the Military Lodges: the first shot was fired by a Belfast plumber, who, in the first place, had desired nothing so much as to live and be let live in amity with the Premier Grand Lodge of the World. The folly of a Provincial Grand Master, who interfered with Lodge ritual customs of which he did not approve, produced the split. The Antient Masons were quite prepared to go on working their accustomed forms under the Grand Lodge of England, from which they had obtained a Warrant on reaching Philadelphia. (See Barratt & Sachse, *Op. cit.*)

² See *Trans.*, Lodge of Research 200 I.C. for 1921, p. 40.

³ This main sequence of Irish Warrants may be said, speaking broadly, to have run from No. 1 Mitchelstown, 1st February, 1731/2, to No. 906 Fivemiletown, 3rd September, 1801. All through this period the Grand Lodge re-issued lapsed numbers only in very exceptional circumstances. With the appointment of Alexander Seton as Deputy Grand Secretary in 1801 a new, and illogical, system began.

⁴ Of these grantees Lord George Sackville was G.M. of Ireland 1751-2, and Colonel Cornwallis is to be remembered as the establisher of Freemasonry in Nova Scotia. The latter later proved himself an active member of the Premier Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), and was the grantee of one of its Warrants.

lost in India." Notable events in the histories of the Regiment and Lodge were the part taken in the battle of Minden¹; the carrying on of a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England (Antients) in 1772²; and having kept guard over Napoleon at St. Helena in 1819.

Another Regiment present at Minden was the 25th, in which was Lodge No. 92 of the Cork Minute. All six British Regiments who shared the glory of that day and still carry "Minden" on their colours, owned either then or, later, military Warrants, equally divided between the English, Irish and Scotch Constitutions.³ Gould records for us a pleasant Masonic incident in reference to this battle. "It was directed by the Grand Lodge of England that the sum of fifty pounds should be sent to Germany to be distributed among the soldiers in the army of the Duke of Brunswick"—under whom the British regiments were serving—"who were Masons, and other recommendations of the Deputy Grand Master. The money was sent to Major-General Kingsley (being a brother) for that purpose."⁴

Among other Irish Lodges formed at this time I may mention as typical examples one or two.

Gibraltar Lodge No. 128 in the 39th Regt. was founded, it is said, at Gibraltar, in November, 1742. This Lodge was granted duplicate Warrants in 1785, 1810 and 1819, and did not go out of existence till after 1872. The Regt. helped to win our Indian Empire, and the first Freemason initiated in India saw the light in No. 128, if tradition lie not.

Another representative Lodge was No. 195 held in the 42nd Regt. (1749-1815), a certificate granted by which and dated 1761 is illustrated in *Caementaria Hibernica*.

On the whole, perhaps the most interesting case recalled by this period of issue is that of the Warrants of the Leicestershire (17th) Regt. On the 24th June, 1743, it was granted No. 136 I.C. while the Regiment was stationed in Minorca, thus showing, as in the similar case of No. 128, that residence in Ireland was not an invariable condition precedent to taking out an Irish Warrant. The 17th shared in the capture of Louisburg in 1758. No less than five out of the eight regiments which took part in this great success possessed Irish Warrants: these were, 2nd Batt. Royals No. 74 (1737-1801); 17th Regt. No. 136 (1743-1770?); 27th Regt. No. 23 (1733-1801); 28th Regt. No. 35 (1734-1801); 46th Regt. No. 227 (1752, and still current as Antiquity Lodge No. 1 on the Registry of Quebec). In addition to these regiments the 43rd, 55th and 58th were present, and perhaps in their baggage may have been one of the early unidentified Irish Warrants. I am heartened in offering this conjecture by discovering that the Grand Lodge of Scotland later issued No. 156 to a Masonic body in the 43rd Regt., which was known as St. Patrick's Lodge, and this name may indicate an Irish origin. To return to our Leicesters, Lodge 136 is known to have been still in existence while the 17th Regt. was in garrison at Quebec in 1760,⁵ and helped to form the Provincial Grand Lodge in that city. On the 12th November, 1771, the Regiment obtained a new Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The petition for it set forth:—

That for a Considerable time there was held a Regular Lodge in the said Regiment under the Authority of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. That through the many hazardous Enterprizes in which they had been Engaged in the Service of their King and Country they had not only lost their Charter, but their whole Records and Jewels and being

¹ A.Q.C. v., 101.

² A.Q.C. iii., 187.

³ See A.Q.C. v., 101, for these Regiments. Their Warrants were: 12th Regt. No. 58 S.C. (1747); 20th Regt. No. 63 I.C. (1736?); 23rd Regt. No. 63 S.C. (1751); 25th Regt. No. 92 I.C. (1749); 37th Regt. No. 52 Antients (1756); 51st Regt. No. 94 Antients (which was granted in 1761).

⁴ Mil. Lo., p. 108.

⁵ Robertson: *Freemasonry in Canada*, vol. i., 169.

willing still to Associate together for the True End of Masonry in a Regular Lodge etc.

In response to this petition the Grand Lodge of Scotland granted Warrant No. 169. This Scottish Warrant was captured from the Regiment at the battle of Princeton, 3rd January, 1777, by the Delaware troops. It is now in the possession of Union Lodge No. 5, Middletown, Delaware. Later the Regiment when in garrison at Philadelphia took No. 18 from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania (Antients). This Warrant also was captured by the Americans under General Wayne at Stony Point on the 15th July, 1779, but was afterwards returned to the Lodge by General Parsons.¹

We thus find the same Masonic body holding successive charters from Ireland, Scotland and England, apparently quite indifferent as to particularity in Constitution, which is a curious illustration of the universality of the Craft and the identity of Masonic practices in the Army.

As will have been gathered from reading between the lines of what has gone before, the extant records of the Grand Lodge of Ireland are very incomplete, and the first Roll of Lodges which has been preserved dates from no earlier than 1761; consequently we have to depend upon external evidence for most of what we know about the earliest military Warrants. Taking the records as they are, we should have expected some of the Regiments to have had Warrants senior to those actually held. This is notably so in the case of a famous Irish cavalry regiment, the "Fourth," or "Black," or "Ligonier's Horse," otherwise known as "The Virgin Mary's Bodyguard," and now as the Seventh Dragoon Guards. The Fourth Regiment of Horse continued on the Irish Establishment from the conclusion of Queen Anne's wars to the year 1742. It was recruited entirely from the families of the gentry, and between twenty and thirty guineas were usually paid for a place in it as trooper. In 1742 it was sent abroad to the German wars under the command of Sir John Ligonier. It lost about one-third of its total strength at the battle of Dettingen in 1743, and was also present at Fontenoy in 1745, where it fought against its own countrymen in the French service. In 1747 it returned to Ireland with a record that is likely to remain unsurpassed for efficiency. According to the report of an officer in the 33rd Regt. who campaigned in the same army as Ligonier's Horse during the German wars:

From the time of their leaving Ireland, there never was an instance of a man's having deserted—there never was a man or horse belonging to it taken by the enemy, nor a man tried by a General Court-Martial. There was but six men who died a natural death; and there were thirty-seven private men promoted to commissions.

(*Dublin Penny Journal*, 1832, p. 146.)

Now according to the earliest extant roll, the first Lodge formed in this splendid body of men was No. 305 on the 2nd November, 1758, a Warrant cancelled just a century later, having been known from 1817 as No. 7. I feel certain, however, that there must have been an earlier Warrant in the Regiment. One of the subscribers to *Spratt's Constitutions* in 1751 was Corporal Kennedy, of Ligonier's Horse, and the probability is that he was making the purchase on behalf of his Lodge. It is possible, of course, that he belonged to a non-regular Masonic body in the Regiment, but the nature of the purchase seems to argue the reverse. Here then is another indication that our list of early military Warrants is far from being complete.

One may note here that among the regiments which served with the Black Horse under Ligonier in Germany in 1746 were held at least two Irish Warrants—No. 12 in the 33rd and No. 92 in the 25th.

¹ See Sachse: *Old Lodges in Pennsylvania* i., 361, et. seq.

VII.

THE WARRANTS ON THEIR TRAVELS.

Owing to the great popularity of Irish Warrants in the British Army, it would be hard to mention a single country where we cannot find marks of their trail; it will be understood, therefore, that, so far from being exhaustive, the examples which follow have been chosen mainly for their picturesqueness, or because they are not unimportant in the history of the Craft.

In the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA military Lodges were busy from a very early date.

In NEW YORK the first warranted Lodge came into existence through No. 74 I.C. granted to the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Scots on the 26th October, 1737. This Lodge was for some time quartered in Albany, N.Y., was joined by local civilians, and on leaving that town in 1759 the members gave a copy of their Warrant to Richard Cartwright, Henry Bestwick and William Ferguson, authorizing them to meet as a regular Lodge until a proper Warrant could be obtained from Ireland. Such a Warrant was never issued, but on the 21st February, 1765, Provincial G.M. Harrison confirmed the Lodge as Union No. 1, and it still exists as Mount Vernon No. 3.¹ It appears that No. 74 also purchased a library for the use of its members, and that some of the volumes belonging to this collection are still preserved in Albany. This would seem to be the first instance we have of an Army Lodge forming a Study Circle, and is a curious sidelight not only on the tastes of our early military Brethren, but also, perhaps, on those Masonic Lectures which used to be delivered in the Lodges generally at this period.

Another Irish Lodge, No. 441 held in the 38th Foot, was present in New York City at the formulating of the Grand Lodge of New York in June, 1781; and after this new Constitution proved a slip the same Lodge was present in December, 1782, at the formation of the Provincial Grand Lodge under the Grand Lodge of England (Antients).

Similarly, in MASSACHUSETTS at the formation of the Grand Lodge (Antients) on the 27th December, 1769, among the Lodges which attended was Glittering Star No. 322 I.C., held in the 29th or Worcester Regt. Thus an Irish Lodge still existent can claim a share in one of the most important events in the history of one of the greatest American Constitutions. I shall give particulars of the history of No. 322 later.

In SOUTH CAROLINA in the year 1782 we find Jeremiah Wright, Worshipful Master of No. 535 I.C. held in the 30th Foot, acting on a Committee which examined the working of St. Andrew's Lodge No. 1, and testified in a letter, dated 26th April and addressed to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, that the members of said Lodge were entitled to work as Antient Masons.² This incident illustrates the usual custom of Ambulatory Lodges in joining local Masonic Committees and exercising the right to help in their deliberations.

In PENNSYLVANIA, which was largely colonized from Ireland, Irish Masonic influences are particularly marked. Visitors from the Army were constantly attending the Philadelphia Lodges. Thus on the 11th April, 1758, what later became the First Lodge of Antient York Masons was visited by three sergeants from No. 218 I.C., held in the 48th Regt.; and it was probably one of these to whom the Lodge referred when petitioning the Grand Lodge of England (Antients) later in the same year, saying it was recommended by "Charles Burnes he is a soldier in Otway's Regiment now here at Winter quarters, he tells us he is well known" to the Antient Masons in London.³

Even the outbreak of the War of Independence could not interrupt this fraternal intercourse, when occasion offered; and during the occupation of

¹ McClenachan: *History of F.M. in N.Y.*, vol. i., pp. 151-183.

² Sachse: *Op. cit.* ii., 178.

³ Barratt & Sachse: *Op. cit.* i., 26-7.

Philadelphia by the British troops in 1778, Brothers McGulrick and Betty of No. 510 I.C., held in the 28th Regt., were present as visitors at No. 4 Philadelphia on the 5th June, an incident which speaks well for the Masonic spirit of those days.¹

It is in AUSTRALIA, however, that the activities of an Irish Military Lodge bore most splendid results. As early as the year 1797 the Grand Lodge of Ireland had been petitioned to warrant a Lodge for Masons serving in the "South Wales Corps at Port Jackson," but no charter was issued.² In 1803 irregular Masonic meetings were being held in Sydney.³ The first regular Lodge meetings were held by Lodge of the Social and Military Virtues No. 227 I.C., but as this Lodge had scruples against initiating civilians, it remained for Lodge No. 218 I.C., held in the 48th Regt., to make some of the inhabitants Masons and petition the Grand Lodge of Ireland to grant them a Warrant, which was accordingly given as No. 260 on the 6th January, 1820, and the Body thus formed still exists as Mother Lodge of Australia No. 1 of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales.

Gould, in his *Military Lodges*, pays a generous tribute to those Lodges which helped the Craft to follow the flag. Among other things he refers to the Irish origin of Freemasonry in JAPAN and MAURITIUS (p. 160), and mentions the claim that the first Mason in India was made under No. 128 I.C. in 1757 (p. 123). He also quotes examples from NOVA SCOTIA and NEW BRUNSWICK in 1758 and 1786 respectively, wherefrom he argues the presence of Military Lodges, probably Irish. His opinion, wherein I concur, is that many more Irish Army Warrants existed than we have been able to identify. His words are: "For a variety of reasons I am led to the conclusion that there must have been many Irish Lodges in the British Army (and elsewhere) of which all traces have been lost" (p. 41).

As regards MAURITIUS, the Lodge which initiated "28 gentlemen of Port Louis" in the year 1857, nineteen of whom in 1858 took out a Warrant for themselves from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, was No. 91 in the 4th (King's) Regt. It was warranted only in 1857, and lasted but a short time. The Port Louis Lodge, in remembrance of its origin, took the name of Military Lodge No. 235. It became extinct in 1873.

Sphinx Lodge No. 263 I.C. (1860-97) in the 2nd Battalion of the 20th Regt. (Lancashire Fusiliers) was the founder of Freemasonry in JAPAN, though its initiates did not go to Ireland for their Warrant, Yokohama Lodge No. 1902 E.C., founded in 1866, being the result. Sphinx Lodge was also the virtual founder of an Irish Lodge in CEYLON which took the name of Sphinx No. 107 on its formation in 1861, and is still working at Colombo.

In CANADA, no sooner was Quebec captured than the Lodges held in the Fleet and Army formed themselves into a Provincial Grand Lodge. Distinctions of Antient and Modern seem to have been unknown. Brother Lieutenant Guinnett of No. 192 I.C. held in the 47th Regt. was elected P.G.M. In December, 1760, Brother Augustus Span (usually and erroneously given as Spanner) of No. 35 I.C., held in the 28th Regt., in turn became P.G.M. He was succeeded in December, 1761, by Bro. Milbourne West, of No. 192; and the next P.G.M., elected 24th June, 1763, was Bro. Lieutenant Turner, of the same Regiment and Lodge.⁴ The famous Thomas Dunckerley, then serving

¹ I cannot refrain from a note about Brother Charles McGulrick because it will illustrate the extreme paucity of the information one acquires, as a rule, about these eighteenth-century Masons. He was one of the grantees of No. 510 on the 3rd December, 1773. He visited at Philadelphia in 1778. In the Minutes of the Grand Stewards' Lodge, 21st February, 1798, we find: "Rejected petition of Charles McGuldrick of No. 510 Ireland, the Certificate produced appearing irregular." The rest is silence. The only certain conclusion we can draw from his dossier is that the English, Irish and American ideas of orthography, as evidenced in his name, varied considerably.

² *Minutes*, G.L., Ire., 6th July, 1797.

³ *A.Q.C.* iii., 108.

⁴ See Sadler's *Dunckerley*, and also *Transactions of Lodge of Research* 200 I.C. for 1922.

aboard H.M.S. *Vanguard*, took a leading part in forming this Provincial Grand Lodge, and in due course it received a Provincial Warrant from England. By the time this was received, however, few of the original military founders can have been still in Quebec.

The earliest entry relating to Canada in the *Minutes* of the Grand Lodge of Ireland is dated 1st June, 1786, and runs:—

Read a letter from the Lodge No. 631 of this registry, & No. 213 of the Grand Lodge of England, both now in Quebec. Ordered unanimously the Thanks of this Right W. Gd. Lodge to the said Lodges for their particular care of & attention to the Ancient Craft in the instances therein recited.

This is the type of tantalizing entry in these *Minutes* that conveys a little but not nearly enough information. One can understand No. 631 (1784-1818), held in the 65th Regt., writing to the G.L. of Ireland, though such communications from the Army Lodges are not often noted; but it might well be inquired what reason No. 213 E.C. (Antients), held in the Royal Artillery and now No. 2 under the Grand Lodge of Quebec, had to join in the letter.

The answer is probably very simple. It may well be that these Lodges were reporting some proceedings of a local Masonic Committee to Ireland, and the phraseology used makes one suspect some Antient and Modern squabble. I think it was the usual custom of these Army Lodges, when quartered in a foreign station, to form such Committees, or Provincial Grand Lodges, having local authority, and to report events at long intervals to whichever of the Constitutions at home they chose to consider as their suzerain. Such, at least, was the case at Gibraltar, to be presently considered. The Provincial Grand Lodge of the Antients was not formed in Quebec till 1792, and the Army Lodges may have created a Committee to supply its lack. I am inclined to believe that this letter may refer to the existence at Quebec of a governing local Masonic body such as existed at Gibraltar.

I have treated the subject of the Grand Lodge of Audalusia fairly fully in another place,¹ but no paper on Military Lodges could omit a reference to the curious state of things prevailing in the fortress of GIBRALTAR.

The first regular Masonic body was constituted there as St. John of Jerusalem Lodge in 1728, but had been meeting previously. This was patently a stationary military Lodge. Among its members in the 1730 List we find the names of Pat Quynn and Roger Mulligan, denoting that the ubiquitous Irish Mason had already reached the Rock, probably in time to take part in the famous siege of 1727. Gould seems to think that No. 128 was the first Irish Lodge at Gibraltar, but whether this or another Army Lodge has that honour does not matter very much to our enquiry, as the period at which Lodges on that Registry really began to make Masonic history in Andalusia is very much later, say 1786.

As early as 1772 trouble had become acute between the Antients and Moderns at the Rock. On St. John's Day in Winter of that year the Modern Lodges wished to exclude No. 148 (now St. John's Lodge 115 E.C.), held in the Royal Artillery, from taking part in the customary procession; whereupon the Antient Lodge was supported by four Irish Lodges,² which in May, 1773, wrote to Ireland justifying their action, and, apparently, received a reply endorsing it. (See Letter quoted in *Minutes*, G.L., Eng. (Antients), 15th December, 1773.)

The Antient element at Gibraltar gradually got the upper hand, and in 1786 petitioned for and obtained an authority to meet as a Provincial Grand Lodge under the Grand Lodge of England. From this date on, every military Lodge, no matter what its Registry, on arriving at Gibraltar became *ipso facto* subject to the authority of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia. Thus we get the curious phenomenon

¹ See *Transactions of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research*, 1922.

² These were No. 11 Royal Scots (1732-1847); No. 244 2nd Foot (1754-1825); No. 290 39th Foot (1758-1813); No. 466 58th Foot (1769-1817).

of the Grand Lodge of England (Antients) receiving contributions from Masons in Gibraltar, the bulk of whom belonged to the Irish or Scotch Constitutions. There is not the least doubt, moreover, that the Grand Lodge of Ireland ordered its Army Lodges to submit to this jurisdiction while at Gibraltar.¹ From this I conclude that the practice was based on an old traditionary custom well recognized in Ireland though never printed in its *Constitutions*. I think I shall be able to show traces of a similar custom affecting Ambulatory Lodges of other Constitutions while stationed in Ireland.

Many Brethren belonging to Irish Warrants became Provincial Grand Officers while at Gibraltar. To the ready pen of one of them, Brother Turner, we owe much valuable information about the proceedings; and the first Provincial Grand Master of Andalusia of whom I have found a trace was Lieutenant John Ross of No. 92 I.C. Brother Ross was P.G.M. in 1789, as appears from the following Minute of the Grand Lodge of Ireland:—

Read a letter from Bro. John Ross Prov. G.M. of Andalusia stating the ill conduct of sundry Brethren of No. 244 [held in 2nd Regt. 1754-1825] and the consequent Censure laid on them by the G.L. there held. Ordered the thanks of this Lodge to Bro. Ross for his care & attention to the Ancient Craft.

Masons continued to work harmoniously in this way at Gibraltar till after the Union, but one of the results of that event was that pressure began to be laid on military Lodges to resign their Irish Warrants and accept English ones. A similar crusade in the interests of the United Grand Lodge began at the same time in other outlying parts of the Empire. The records of the next dozen years are full of protests coming from Irish Lodges abroad and being passed on from Dublin to London. The outcome seems to have been the extinction of this particular form of Provincial Grand Lodge composed of Lodges from different Constitutions working together in harmony. This, I suppose, was inevitable; but the new feeling of Constitutional jealousy was no change for the better from the old careless fraternal co-operation. Thus ended a practice which had much to commend it.

To this day the principle which governed it remains a maxim of Irish Masonic jurisprudence; to wit, that the Irish Mason when away from home is subject not only to his Mother Constitution but also to the regular Masonic authorities in the country of his residence. This is, of course, but a logical enforcement of the admonition in the Charge given after initiation, the terms of which were approved by the Grand Lodge of Ireland as far back as the year 1735; and it seems to me sound doctrine, devoid of all flavour of provincialism.

I shall now mention a couple of curious incidents in connexion with Irish military Warrants which lead me to believe that the doctrine I have just formulated was, in the eighteenth century, good doctrine from the English point of view as well. They also show the special circumstances in which the Grand Lodge of Ireland would, in the early days, re-issue a lapsed Warrant.

In the year 1763 the Irish Lodges numbered 94 and 113, warranted in 1738 and 1739 respectively for Newcastle, Co. Limerick, and Scariff, Co. Clare, were both extinct. We find both these numbers in the year 1763 being re-issued to Military Lodges in Regiments from England, while new Irish civilian Lodges had to take the next number in the sequence of Warrants already issued, which at this date was well into the fourth hundred. As regards No. 94, the entry in the G.L. Roll runs: "Granted 21st Octr. 1761, in London, and Enter'd in our Books the 1st Decr. 1763." Now Orange Lodge No. 94 in the 51st Regt. was indeed warranted by the Grand Lodge of England (Antients) in London on the 21st October, 1761, and it appears that the Irish Warrant of the same number to the same regiment was granted to no less than twenty Masons who were all registered on the same day (1st December, 1763) in the Irish records. The Lodge subsequently registered thirteen more, the last being on the 26th

¹ *Minutes* of the G.L. Ireland, record, 4th July, 1793, that Lodge 617, an Officers' Lodge, held in the 32nd Regt., wrote complaining of being suspended by the Grand Lodge of Andalusia. "Ordered while at Gibraltar to conform to its Laws and Regulations."

January, 1775. No. 94 was retained on the Irish Register till 1815, when, as nothing had been heard from it for many years, it was erased. In the case of No. 113 the record runs: "Held in the 50th Regt. of Foot from London, Dated 1st April, 1763." (I think 1st here must be an error of the transcriber for 21st.) Now the Grand Lodge of England (Antients) issued No. 112 to the same Regiment on the 21st April, 1763. The first batch of names, ten in all, registered on the Irish Roll is dated 8th June, 1764. Fifteen more members were subsequently registered, the last in 1770. This Lodge No. 113 also was erased in 1815 for reasons similar to those in the former case.

I suggest that here we have two undoubted instances of English Lodges taking local Warrants in order to conform to a well-recognized traditional custom of the time; and I further suggest that the Grand Lodge of Ireland revived cancelled Warrants in their favour, so as to give them as nearly as possible the numbers of their former English Warrants. No. 94 could not be fitted exactly, but as a flourishing No. 112 I.C. existed at this date at Lisburn, Co. Antrim, No. 112 E.C. had to be content with Paddy's next best thing, which, as it so happened, was No. 113.

The point seems to me important. If we decide that the custom existed generally in the eighteenth century, it will explain many phenomena connected with the Military Lodges while on foreign service; the adoption of a local Warrant in order to enjoy local Masonic amenities would in no case, according to my reading of the evidence, have interfered with the Lodge's allegiance to its Mother Constitution. Because a different idea developed in the nineteenth century, we get the disputes and protests to which I have already referred casually, not feeling disposed on the present occasion to go into details.

As a conscientious historian, I should, perhaps, not omit to give you a horrible example of the way in which an Ambulatory Warrant might lead to abuses. The Near East will provide it.

In 1859 the United Grand Lodge of England issued a circular warning against irregular Lodges in Smyrna calling themselves "The Grand Lodge of Turkey." The circular ended by stating that this *soi-disant* Constitution had been founded during the Crimean War by an officer who had managed to get hold of an Irish Warrant. By the courtesy of Brother Wonnacott, who never withholds his immense Masonic knowledge from any student, I have been able to examine the original documents laying the complaint, and on placing them in apposition with the Irish records no doubt remains as to what actually took place.

The Irish Army Lodge in question, Albany No. 65, was formed 15th December, 1854, in the 72nd Regt., the grantees being James Hope Atkinson, James Doig and George Mackay, all of No. 73 Limerick. Up to 1855 twenty-six members were registered. Then comes the damning entry in the G.L. of Ireland books: "This Warrant was carried off by Capt. James H. Atkinson in 1855 when the Regt. was in the Crimea and never returned. Duplicate Warrant granted per order of Grand Lodge 5 January 1860 and sent to James Doig, East Indies." The Warrant was, however, never revived; it was sent back from India in May, 1860, and filed.¹

¹ Owing to the kindness of Bro. W. Jenkinson, I am able to give an additional reference to Capt. Atkinson:—"Report of a meeting of St. Patrick's Senior M.L. No. 623, Armagh, in *Newry Telegraph*, 3rd Jany., 1857: F. C. Crosslé entered following synopsis in his Masonic Notes, vol. i., page 163:—"Capt. Atkinson G.M. of Turkey joined the Brethren at dinner and contributed much valuable information with reference to Freemasonry in the East, from which he had lately arrived, and where within a short period he had himself initiated upwards of 300 members. He indicated his intention of affiliating with 623. (This intention was not carried out.)" Through the kindness of Bro. T. G. F. Paterson, of Armagh, the following biographical note has been made available:—"Capt. James Hope Johnston Atkinson, late of Crowhill, Co. Armagh, and of the 72nd Highlanders was born in the year 1825, and m. in April 1856, Elfreda dau. of William Abbot of Smyrna. His wife died in 1860, and he died in April 1865 in New Zealand, leaving two daughters, now both dead. The elder m. Count Mazza, and the younger m. Count J. di Revel. The 'Johnston' in Capt. Atkinson's name comes from his mother, who was a Miss Johnston of Knappa, Co. Armagh. The present head of Crowhill, Joseph Jervais Atkinson has a portrait of Capt. J. H. Atkinson."

This self-styled Grand Lodge of Turkey formed three subordinate Lodges at Smyrna, named "Ionia," "Anatolia," and "Benzenzia," whose members seem to have had an "unco' guid" sense of their own importance. Their assumption of supreme Masonic authority in Turkey led to the matter being brought to the notice of the Grand Lodge of England, and the latter, very properly, declared the "Grand Lodge of Turkey" spurious. The new Body, as might be expected, did not flourish, and in 1880 it was stated to have been defunct for many years. It appears from the evidence that several high Turkish officials were connected with the body soon after its inception.¹

VIII.

MILITARY WARRANTS WHICH BECAME CIVILIAN.

Not a few of these Army Warrants finished up by retiring into civilian life. This was the ultimate destiny of one of the earliest, No. 33, granted in 1734 to the 21st, or "Royal Regiment of North British Fuzileers," the name given to it in Smith's list, 1735, where it appears as No. 34. The proved existence of this Warrant is, by the way, also a proof of the reliability of Smith's List. There is no entry concerning No. 33 in the early official records, and in 1801 it was marked cancelled. There is outside evidence, however, that in 1772, in Canada, the Lodge was still claiming the right to work under its original Warrant.² In 1803 the regiment took out another Irish Warrant, No. 936, but the original No. 33 having turned up later in a tattered condition, the Lodge received permission to work again under that number, while the ragged half of the original Warrant of 1734 was returned to Grand Lodge. In 1838 the regiment was leaving Hobart's Town, Tasmania, for India, and some of the officers who had become settlers retained the Warrant and worked under it till about the year 1860, when it was returned. This Lodge is a good instance of an Army Warrant continuing to work without communicating with its Grand Lodge. In the 1761 Roll No. 33 was left blank as being extinct; but I have been given to understand that Minute Books are extant to show that the Lodge was still flourishing in the regiment in 1787, and apparently only the temporary loss of the old Warrant led to the new one being taken out in 1803.

This transmutation of a Military into a Stationary Warrant was, of course, quite unconstitutional without special leave, but on occasions the Grand Lodge seems to have tacitly accepted the change when it had become *un fait accompli*. Thus I can find no authorization for No. 290 (granted 1753 to the 39th Regt.) to settle at Castletown, Isle of Man, where apparently it was situated in 1804; nor for No. 512 (granted to the 63rd Regt. in 1774), which in 1813 is described as meeting at Augher, Co. Tyrone; nor yet for No. 277 (granted in 1757 to the 2nd or Green Regiment of Horse), which was revived as a Cork Lodge in 1783.

It is possible that this last case, however, is an instance of what we have christened "the Munster Custom," whereby the Provincial Grand Master of Munster during the eighteenth century used to revive any dormant Warrant that might come into his hands to the first body of Masons applying to establish a new Lodge in that Province; and this privilege of the P.G.M. of Munster was endorsed by the Grand Lodge of Ireland up to about the year 1790. It was probably a lingering trace of the original Masonic independence of Munster.

Our Brethren from the Midlands will be amused to hear that one of these Military Warrants applied to be established as a civilian Lodge in the very heart of England, and that, too, at not such a very remote date:—

Read a letter [18th Novr., 1836] from No. 7 held in the 7th Dragoon Guards now stationed at Birmingham, requesting the Grand Lodge to

¹ From information supplied by Bro. W. Wonnacott, Librarian, G.L., England.

² See Gould: *Mil. Lo.*, p. 127.

render said Warrant permanent in that town, as most of the Members are discharged from the Regiment and resident there—Cannot be granted, being an infringement on the authority of the Grand Lodge of England, but the remaining Members may preserve the Warrant, it being a Military one in hopes of an increase, or else resign it to the Grand Lodge.

As a matter of fact, No. 7 was kept alive in the Regiment till 1858.

Another example of a Regimental settling down as a Civilian Lodge abroad is No. 690 (Warrant 1788 in the 51st Foot) which was established at Fort Royal, Martinique, in 1801. But this Lodge seemed to retain its *Wanderlust*, and we find it had shifted its quarters to Trinidad by 1807.

Generally speaking, when a Military became a Civilian Lodge it soon found itself in trouble. No. 339 was issued in November, 1759, to the 83rd Regt. of Foot. The G.L. record runs:—

As the above Regiment was Broake, Bror. McVicker by order of the Lodge Return'd the Warrant to the Grand Lodge 23rd July 1764.

N.B. This Warrant is returned to Will Smith, John Leekey, John StClare and others, who were originally Members thereof (to be held in Dublin) by Order of the Grand Lodge, the 7 April 1768 T[homas] C[orker].

By 1783 this Lodge had fallen into disfavour and it was cancelled in March, 1787.

A somewhat similar entry relates the fate of No. 177, which was warranted in 1748 for the 10th Regt.: "This Warrant was settled in Dublin in the year 1750 and for non-payment of Dues &c. was Expell'd 4th July 1755."

The last state of No. 205, warranted in 1750 for the 35th Regt., was even more unfortunate. The Warrant was transferred to Moy, Co. Tyrone, in 1790, the first W.M. being William Richardson, member of a well-known county family. This Richardson was one of the prime-movers in forming the schismatic Grand East of Ulster. The Lodge over which he presided for many years paid no dues to the Grand Lodge for an even longer period, and was finally erased in 1814.

In view of such unfortunate examples, one is not surprised to find that when, on the 1st April, 1790, Lodge 528 held in the 27th Regt. applied to be established as a civil Warrant in the City of Dublin, the reply of the Grand Lodge was in the negative by 26 votes to 21.

As a brilliant instance of quite other fortune attending a Military which became a Civil Lodge, we possess in First Volunteer Lodge No. 620 one of the most distinguished of existing Dublin Warrants. Its charter was originally granted, on the 4th September, 1783, to be held, as its name indicates, in a Corps of Volunteers. In time it became purely civilian, and has initiated some of the finest Masons who ever adorned the Grand Lodge of Ireland, including John Fowler, whose memory should always be kept green in that Constitution. This Lodge in commemoration of its origin has the right of wearing a special apron with the national Ensign embroidered on it.

One of the best-known instances of an Irish Army Lodge becoming civilian is that of the famous Lodge of the Social and Military Virtues No. 227. Warranted in March, 1752, for the 46th Regt., after labours in nearly every civilized and uncivilized country, it was finally established in Montreal in 1847, where it still exists as the premier Lodge of its new Constitution.

The influx of British Militia Regiments to Ireland during the troubles at the end of the eighteenth century gave rise to some curious intermingling of military and civilian Masonry. Thus No. 861 was granted on the 1st March, 1798, "to hold a Lodge in the Fife fencible Regt. of Infantry & after its reduction in the City of Londonderry." As a matter of fact, the Warrant got settled in Ballymacarett instead of Londonderry, and continued to work there till 1817, when it was exchanged for No. 111.

My next example will be of more interest to us as English Masons. No. 867 is left a blank in the G.L. Roll, but in the *Minutes* of 2nd May, 1799, we read:—

867. Ordered a Wart. to Brs. Wemys Disney, Jonas Smith & Wm. Fowler, to hold a Lodge in the 1st Royal South Lincoln Regt. of Militia.

Brother Wemys Disney, as I have discovered from other sources, was a very active Mason. The Lodge he founded continued to work in England after the regiment left Ireland, though one of the conditions on which Irish Warrants were issued to non-Irish Militia Regiments was that they should be returned to the Grand Lodge when the Regiment was ordered away. In *A.Q.C.* xxvii., 233, will be found a copy of a certificate issued 11th May, 1803, to Brother Henry Disney at Stamford by this Lodge (the number of the Warrant has been copied wrongly); and Brother Gilbert Daynes informs me that three members of No. 867 I.C. were among the eight original members who founded No. 160 (Antients) at Peterborough in 1802. It was thus that during the early years of the last century forces were at work tending to bring about a uniformity of Masonic practice by an interchange of members amongst the different Constitutions; in this the Military Lodges undoubtedly bore no small share, as is shown by the history of this Lodge in the Lincolnshire Militia.

Other Territorial English and Scottish Regiments which took Warrants from the Grand Lodge of Ireland about the same period were: (1) The Essex Fencibles, granted No. 852, 6th October, 1796. Registered 33 members up to April, 1802. Cancelled 1813. (2) Elgin Fencibles, No. 860, 4th January, 1798. Reg. 108 members to June, 1804. Cancelled 1813. (3) Breadalbane Fencibles, No. 907, 3rd September, 1801. Reg. 35 members to June, 1802. Cancelled 1813.

This last Warrant was granted on condition of being put at the disposal of Grand Lodge, if the regiment was disbanded; and probably similar promises were obtained in the other cases.

It should here be mentioned that several applications for Warrants were received about this period from English and Scottish Militia Regiments serving in Ireland, and refused by that Grand Lodge. Why exceptions were made in the foregoing instances I do not know. The next two extracts from *G.L. Minutes* will be found to have some interest in this connexion:—

2nd January, 1812. Read an application from Lodge 791 in the Westmeath Militia now lying at Dover praying that a Warrant might be granted to certain Brethren of the 3rd Regt. of Lancashire Militia—Order'd that the Secy. communicate with the G. Secy. England—stating that we did not wish to act in this matter without having their opinion.

1st October, 1812. Read a Meml. from Brs. Richd. Williamson, Sam Hopping & Chas. Burke praying a Warrant to hold a Lodge in the West Middlesex Regt. of Militia—Order'd that the Secy. inform the Brethren that they must have the recommendation of the Gr. Lodge of England otherwise the Warrrt. cannot be granted.

I may mention that as the Grand Lodge of Ireland was particularly anxious that the contemplated Masonic Union in England should be brought about as soon as possible, it would have been most scrupulous at this time to do nothing which might have given offence to either of the Grand Lodges in this country; and issuing an Irish Warrant to a London Militia Regt. might well have seemed an unfriendly act to either.¹

¹ I have gone into this matter of Militia Warrants at tedious length because of a passage in Gould's *Military Lodges* (p. 120) which seems to me misleading.

IX.

THE EARLY GRANTEES.

We must now consider an important question: at what period did the Grand Lodge of Ireland begin to issue Army Warrants to Masons from other Constitutions?

This is particularly hard to answer, because in most of the early Irish Army Warrants we have no record of the names of the grantees, unless the Warrant itself has been preserved; and even when they are known, systematic registration of Masons in England or Scotland began at too late a date to make the information of much value.

My own belief is that from the very first the Grand Lodge of Ireland constituted itself the protector of any regimental body of good Masons asking for one of its charters, and that, whatever qualifications it may have demanded of them, having been made in an Irish Lodge was not one.

The Worshipful Master and Wardens of the very first Military Warrant ever issued, No. 11 in the Royal Scots, dated 7th November, 1732, whose names were James Murray, Patrick Howard and Patrick Reid, would lead us to assume one Scot and two Irish, but it would be futile to speculate where any one of them was made a Mason.

As to the qualifications that were deemed essential, we learn from the Minute Book of Shamrock Lodge No. 27 that by the year 1751 it was an established custom, as it is still, before admitting a brother as visitor or joining member in an Irish Lodge to test him as to his Masonic knowledge. We are therefore obliged to assume that, before granting the even more important privilege of a Warrant, the Grand Lodge would satisfy itself as to the genuineness of the Brethren who were applicants. When we remember that the installation of the Master was an essential part of the Constitution of a new Irish Lodge, it will be obvious that only those Masons who followed the Antient forms could hope to obtain an Irish Warrant. Here I would like to reiterate that following the Antient forms was not the exclusive privilege of those English Lodges which gave their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of the Antients in this country.

A tremendous number of these Irish Warrants appear to have been taken out by regiments which had no other connexion with Irish Masonry than that of having been stationed in the island for a time before proceeding abroad, and in many cases the Lodges so formed continued to go on working for years without ever communicating with the Mother Constitution. The code governing Military Warrants, as will be seen later, favoured such laxity, not that it was looked upon as laxity in those early days. The thing to remember is, that it would be quite a mistake to conclude that because an Army Lodge failed to communicate with its Grand Lodge it therefore must be assumed to have gone out of existence.

No. 12, formed, probably, November, 1732, in the 33rd Foot, has no entry whatsoever concerning it in the official Irish Records, and was cancelled in 1817. We learn of its existence from Smith's invaluable 1735 List, where it appears as: "13. Major General Dalzeel's Regt. of Foot, every 3rd Friday," and this in accordance with the sliding scale gives us 12 as the official number affixed later. In 1753 this Lodge was present in Edinburgh at the laying of a foundation stone.¹ Thus we have to depend upon outside evidence for knowledge that it ever lived and worked.

Similarly, after 1764 nothing was ever heard by the Grand Lodge of Ireland of No. 359, warranted in the 2nd Battalion of the 76th Regt. in December, 1760; but on the 18th October, 1781, the Lodge was in a very live condition in New York, and in conjunction with three local Lodges, Nos. 169,

¹ Gould: *History of Freemasonry* iii., 55.

210 and 212 (all Antient Warrants) and No. 134 S.C. held in the Royal Artillery, helped to constitute a new English Lodge No. 213 in the 4th Battalion of the Royal Regt. of Artillery.¹

Silence, therefore, is no proof of extinction in the case of a Military Lodge. The foregoing is an excellent instance of this point.

The case I have been working up to all this time, however, is that of No. 392, granted 6th January, 1763, to eleven Masons in the 66th Regiment of Foot. The Lodge registered seven more members between that date and the 24th April, 1764; then it apparently left Ireland; nothing more was heard of it; and it was cancelled in 1817. I could give a long list of similar cases occurring about the same time, but have chosen No. 392 for a special reason, which must again lead me into a digression.

One of the most trying tasks that attends Masonic research and teaches its student the full meaning of hope deferred is the copying of the names of early members of the Craft when such occur in contemporary documents, and only very rarely does reward come as a result of such industry. Most of us will, however, agree that few branches of enquiry are more important, and nothing is more tantalizing than a printed Lodge history which fails to reproduce the list of members most old Minute Books contain. Such copying is desperate drudgery, still I hope to show you shortly that sometimes it is of use.

Thanks to Brother Cecil Powell I have learnt that on the 18th July, 1761, Fountain Lodge No. 74, Bristol, on the registry of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, made one Hercules Burleigh a Mason "in consideration that he was soon going to sea."² This, as we know, was a universal practice in the case of naval and military Brethren, and is still provided for in the Irish Masonic Code. Now the name of a Hercules Burleigh appears as one of the Wardens in the Irish Warrant No. 392 issued in January, 1763. If this was the same man, and, far from seeing any reason to doubt it, I think all the circumstances point to one person, we have not only a proof, additional to much other evidence, that the Bristol working, Antient or Modern, coincided with the Irish all through the eighteenth century, but also that the Grand Lodge of Ireland at this particular epoch looked to the essentials of Masonry and not to any special label of Antient or Modern in recognising a Brother.

It also provides us with an object lesson in what illumination may spring from a mere name when recorded in the right place.

All Lodge historians will please note.

X.

SOLDIERS IN IRISH LOCAL LODGES.

If one were to take a list of these Army Warrants and search for a reason why a particular regiment came to be in Ireland, the result would be a series of historical cameos which might lead to the discussion of topics barred in our Lodges. Walking circumspectly, however, and combining profane with Masonic records, nothing objectionable will be found in the following examples of regiments being mentioned in connexion with public events about the time that they took out Irish Warrants.

In July, 1763, General Sanford's (10th) Regt. was sent from Galway to Armagh on account of Oakboy disturbances in Ulster.³ The same Regiment had taken out Warrant No. 299 in 1758. Similarly, we read that Strode's (62nd) Regt. was in garrison at Carrickfergus in 1760 when Thurot captured that town. It took out Warrant No. 407 in 1763. Thus a disturbance in that

¹ Minute, G.L., Eng., Antients.

² Powell & Littleton: *History of Freemasonry in Bristol*, p. 35. I think Burleigh was probably an officer and member of a County Antrim family of that name with the Army in its blood.

³ Letter from Primate Stone to Lord Charlemont, 28th July, 1763, quoted in Hardy's *Life of C.*

island often meant an extension of the Craft, which may be taken as a comment on the Shakesperian dictum that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil."

It would be a mistake, however, to think that every regiment which came to Ireland took out an Irish Warrant, and we get many examples of military men being initiated in the Irish civilian Lodges, which was, of course, illegal when a Lodge existed in the regiment. The following are examples from old Minute Books:—

Petition from Jno. Courtney foot Soldier in the 70th Regiment brought forward by Br. St. Lawrence and highly recommended by Brs. Wm. Sanderson & Edw. Davis Soldiers in sd. Regiment—he was this night admitted [dated 7th July, 1792].

(Bro. J. W. Hobbs: *Minutes of Lifford Lodge No. 569, A.Q.C. xxxiv., 99.*)

William Sanderson was a member of No. 592, Portadown (1781-1843) and Edward Davis of No. 525, Magherafelt (1775-1835), both civilian Lodges.

5th Augt. 1798. John smith of the North loland fencieables Reported by Br. Magnus Vidder of Lodge No. 401 [*Newbliss, Co. Monaghan, 1763-1863*] on the Register of Ireland pd. same time 5/5.

4th Novr. 1799. Br. John Sutherland of the Nor^h Loland fencibals Reported Daial McCay 5/5.

(*Minutes of No. 367, Downpatrick.*)

It is fairly obvious that these initiations of military men in the Lodges of a foreign Constitution would tend to spread the ritual peculiarities of such Constitution farther afield than its natural limits; to this common practice we may perhaps attribute the prevalence of the Antient forms of working both in the Army and in those districts abroad which were garrisoned by our troops.

It would be totally wrong to conclude that any particular regiment might be expected to show an exclusive fondness for any particular Masonic Constitution. The 6th, or Inniskilling Dragoons, one of the most famous of the Irish regiments, showed, for example, an extremely catholic taste in the matter of Warrants.¹ The 6th Dragoons had two Warrants from the Antients, No. 123 of 1763 and No. 311 of 1797; it also had No. 508 from the Moderns in 1777, and worked under it till at least 1804.

I fear that material evidence is not available for testing the truth of the theory, but my belief is that if we had records of the names of the Masons who formed these various Lodges in the 6th Dragoons we should find a kind of Apostolic Succession; and I further believe that the ceremonies observed in the different Lodges would not have varied much with the varying Constitutions; to pursue such speculations on the present occasion would, however, serve no useful end.

A curious instance of two Lodges under different Masonic Constitutions existing in the one Battalion is mentioned by Gould,² when, at the celebration,

¹ Gould, in *Military Lodges* (p. 31), makes the curious statement that the solitary military Warrant issued by the Grand Lodge of York went to this regiment in the year 1770. No such Lodge appears in *Lane*, and on consultation with Brothers Wonnacott and Makins I find that neither has heard of any such body. If Gould had some evidence for the assertion, it is unknown to us. If we could prove that such a Lodge actually was warranted, it would be an additional proof of the peculiar humour of this regiment for collecting Warrants of many jurisdictions. It is curious, however, that this famous Irish regiment never held, so far as we know, an Irish Warrant. The one attributed to it in Gould (No. 876) was really granted to the Sixth Dragoon Guards, in lieu of No. 577 which had been captured by the French in 1794. Before No. 876 was issued, the G.L. of Ireland decided to give the regiment a duplicate of No. 577 instead.

² *Mil. Lo.*, p. 119.

in 1836, of the centenary of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Lodges Hibernia and St. Andrew held in the Black Watch (42nd) Regt. "attracted admiration alike for their martial appearance and Masonic behaviour."

Hibernia Lodge No. 42 I.C. deserves a few words. It was originally warranted by Alexander Seton during that period when he was issuing charters on his own authority. It applied to the Grand Lodge of Ireland for recognition, and received a legal Warrant, free of expense, on the 6th April, 1809. It registered 269 members up to August, 1840, after which date the Warrant was returned, owing, no doubt, to the campaign against Military Lodges which was going on just at this period.

XI.

FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF ARMY WARRANTS.

In proceeding to offer you a few picturesque incidents from the stirring histories of the Army Warrants, I regret that I must at the outset tear into tatters the most picturesque tradition of all, and the one I could best wish firmly established as fact—I mean the fable that George Washington was initiated in the Lodge of Social and Military Virtues No. 227 held in the 46th (South Devon) Regt. The story has been tested several times and declared an imposture.¹ It has been proved in turn, to the complete dissatisfaction of every Irish Mason, not only that George Washington was initiated in another Lodge, but also that the Bible owned by Lodge 227 could not have been used for the purpose of obligating him in any of his degrees. The claims of this Lodge, therefore, to some connexion with the Cincinnatus of the West must be allowed to rest henceforth on a nebulous taking of the Tyler's oath before being admitted as a visitor, or on a traditionary capture and restoration of the Lodge chest by the American Army. In the latter connexion, so far as my own researches have gone, the only battles of the War of Independence in which the 46th Regt. bore a prominent part were those of Germantown and Monmouth, neither of which was of such a nature as to make the capture of the Lodge property by the enemy probable. This, of course, is merely negative evidence, and regimental tradition may be telling the truth. I devoutly hope so.

Another tradition of Lodge 227, that the Lodge chest was captured by the French in Dominica in 1805 and returned three years later,² has, so far as the capture of the Warrant is concerned, the confirmation of the records of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which note the issue of a duplicate in that year, the original having been captured by the enemy in Dominica. The ultimate return of the old Warrant from France is by no means improbable. We have many pleasant examples of the courtesy shown by French Masons to their English Brethren during the persistent wars of the eighteenth century. The circumstance which induced that entertaining scoundrel William Hickey to become a Freemason was, to use his own words: "Having during my residence among the French in Trincomalay (1783) found how highly they respected the fraternity of Freemasons, and the advantage it would have been to me had I at that time been of the Order, I determined to become a 'Brother' at the earliest opportunity."³ He was accordingly initiated on his arrival in Bengtl, aid, as might have been expected from a candidate concealing such motives, did not prove of much credit to the Craft.

This loss of a Warrant, either by shipwreck, the accident of travel, the act of God or the King's enemies, was an occurrence so common in the Military Lodges that very often the issue of the duplicate is not specifically recorded, much less the circumstances of the loss. Thus we know that No. 218 held in the 48th Regt. (1750-1858) received such a duplicate in 1763, having probably

¹ See *A.Q.C.* xvii., 145; and xxiii., 95. Also speech by Bro. James M. Lamberton, "Sesqui-centennial Anniversary of the Initiation of Bro. George Washington": Philadelphia, 1902; p. 143.

² *A.Q.C.* xvii., 231.

³ *Memoirs*: London, 1923, iii., 313.

lost its Warrant during the Seven Years War; similarly, No. 192 held in the 47th Regt. was renewed in 1761, probably for the same reason; while in the case of No. 293 held in the 16th Regt. (1758-1817) the Warrant now preserved in the G.L. Archives proves to be a duplicate issued in 1765. It is only by the lucky chance of a Minute entered by a Border Lodge that we have learnt that No. 92 lost its chest in the same wars at Munster, in Germany.

John Calder, who was Grand Secretary of Ireland at this time, had a Gallio-like disregard for recording the moving accidents by flood and field that attended his military Brethren. Thomas Corker, when appointed Deputy Grand Secretary, was somewhat more discursive, but it would seem that no more geographical knowledge was demanded by the G.L. Minutes than that of the names of countries, and in one instance, when he chose to give particulars, he made the waters of the Mississippi wash the walls of Quebec; so it would hardly be possible to compile a list of famous British battles from the official records of the missing regimental Warrants.

The following samples, however, are not without some picturesque suggestiveness.

Lodge 243 in the 59th Regt. (1754-1820): 7th March, 1782, a duplicate Warrant granted, "the original being defaced and now returned to Grand Lodge." 4th March, 1784, another duplicate granted, "the original being taken by the Spaniards before Gibraltar."

Lodge 219 in the 59th Regt. (1810-1819, granted instead of a Seton Warrant No. 500): duplicate granted 7th March, 1816, "The Warrant lost by Shipwreck."¹

Lodge 370 in the 52nd Regt. (1761-1825): 7th March, 1799, a duplicate ordered, "the original having been destroyed by fire in the East Indies."

Lodge 407 in the 62nd Regt.: duplicate granted 7th October, 1784, "the original being lost in America." The 62nd Regiment was taken prisoners-of-war together with the rest of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in 1777.

Lodge 510 in the 28th Regt. (1773-1858): 3rd September, 1795, a duplicate ordered "the original being taken by the French": probably during the disastrous campaign in the Netherlands. Another duplicate was issued in October, 1817, in what circumstances is not stated.

No. 522 in the 4th Regt. (1785-1823; this was a Warrant revived by the Munster Custom): 5th March, 1801, duplicate granted, "the letter of Transfer having been lost on the Continent." The 4th Regt. probably lost its Warrant either at the attack on Bergen and Egmont op Zee on the 2nd October, 1799, or the battle of Beverwyck on the following 6th October. It suffered severely in both engagements.

Lodge 441 in the 38th Regt. (1765-1860): 6th August, 1795, duplicate granted "No. 441 being taken by the French."

I will conclude illustrations of this kind by giving the history of how two Irish Army Warrants were lost in different ways during the same series of operations in South America.

Our Grand Lodge of Ireland records note both events very baldly, that on the 5th May, 1808, duplicates of Warrants 895 and 356 were granted free of charge, the originals being lost in Buenos Ayres and Monte Video respectively.

No. 895 was held in the 71st Highland Regt. (1801-1835), and No. 356 in the 9th Dragoons (1760-1818). The story of the losses has proved to be discoverable from outside sources.

In 1806 British forces occupied Monte Video, and on the 27th June, General William Carr Beresford, subsequently famous during the Peninsular War as Marshal Beresford, captured Buenos Ayres with the 71st Regt. The Spaniards retook the town almost immediately, and the whole of the 71st became prisoners-of-war. Local tradition in Buenos Ayres ascribes this defeat to the charms of the Argentine señoras, which the officers of the regiment found more

¹ This was the wreck of the *Seahorse* transport in January, 1816, in Tramore Bay, Co. Waterford, when only 29 of the 2nd Battalion escaped drowning. A monument on the shore of Tramore Bay records the disaster.

attractive than military duty, and so, while they were making themselves agreeable in the drawing-rooms General Liniers, the French Commander of the Spanish Army, rallied his defeated forces, and soon gave the 71st something else to think about than love-making. Bro. C. Lewis Edwards has stated¹ that to this day in Buenos Ayres Museum is preserved Warrant No. 895 belonging to the 71st Regt. It was captured in one of the forts, and, for all I can tell, the Brethren may have been at labour when disturbed by Liniers and his gang of cowans and intruders. The 71st remained prisoners till July, 1807, when a strong British force under Lieutenant-General John Whitelocke attempted to recapture Buenos Ayres. The 9th Dragoons formed part of this army. It was badly defeated by General Liniers, and Whitelocke agreed to withdraw and also evacuate Monte Video on condition that the 71st Regt. was restored to liberty. For this disgraceful accommodation Whitelocke was tried by court-martial in 1808 and cashiered. From the published account of his trial (London, 1808) we learn that General Gower, the second-in-command, visited the stores of the 9th and 17th Dragoons in Monte Video early in June, found fault with the quantity of baggage in the barracks, and ordered it to be removed. The Colonel of the 17th Dragoons stated, "that what things we could not take with us"—on the march against Buenos Ayres—"remained in the street and were lost." Thus the disappearance of Warrant No. 356 is accounted for. It is not often that one can trace so successfully the details attending such a minor event in the operations of war as the loss of a couple of parchments. This must be my excuse for prolixity.

XII.

ARMY LODGES AND THE IRISH CODE.

When we come to examine the Irish code which governed military Warrants, we at once get more light why they became so popular in the British Army. The earliest printed regulations dealing with the subject date from 1768, but there is little doubt that similar rules had been in force for some considerable time previously. At all events, one of the most important military centres in Ireland had a definite code concerning ambulatory Lodges at least as early as 1753. Cork City was at this time usually the last home port for every British squadron conveying troops abroad, and travelling Masons naturally visited the local Lodges. Shamrock Lodge No. 27, to which the Provincial G.M. David Fitzgerald belonged, was at this time the leading Masonic body in Cork. Its Minute Books are full of allusions to military Masons. Thus on the 29th July, 1751, the Lodge marched in procession to a play given for charity escorted by a Military Lodge (probably No. 92); and on the 17th June, 1752, it was resolved that Lieutenant Hay, Mr. Daltra of Bristol and Mr. Norris should be invited to dinner on the next St. John's Day. These entries show that Lodge 27 fully recognized the existence and status of Military Masons and Military Lodges. Then we come across a curious entry on the 7th February, 1753:—

The Lodge being open, Bror. Bennett propos'd that Mr. Gillman & Lieut. Wm. Hawkins should be admitted as Visiting Brors. but they being unduely made in a Soldier's Lodge without any application to the Establish'd Lodges of this City, & contrary to the by Laws agreed on by them, for the afforesd. reasons they could not be admitted.

We have here an undoubted reference to some rule governing the recognition of Military Lodges and agreed on by the Provincial Gd. Lodge of Munster. I do not know what the rule was. I suspect it to have had something to do with the possession of a Warrant; and, if so, since neither of the

¹ *Transactions Leicester L. of Research* 1907, p. 98.

Grand Lodges in England had as yet issued any such document to a regiment, the adoption of such a regulation in a garrison town so important as Cork would have had a very potent effect in persuading non-regular Masonic bodies in marching regiments that their shortest step towards recognition was to apply to the Grand Lodge of Ireland for one of these new-fangled parchments, to which their Irish Brethren attached such importance. In any case, the entry clearly proves that regulations of some kind had been drawn up by the civilian Lodges to determine what measure of recognition was to be accorded to ambulatory Lodges. As a corollary, it shows that the number of such Army Lodges must have been large enough to merit special legislation, that they were a common feature of Masonic life, and filled a special place in the polity of the Craft.

Though one searches through all the eighteenth-century editions of the English *Ahiman Rezon* in vain for any special laws affecting their Military Lodges, the next reference to the subject I have found comes from the *Minutes* of the Antients under date 6th December, 1758:—

Debated on the dues from remote Lodges (in the Army) after many debates it was agreed that all Lodges in the Army shou'd be excused from contributing in the General manner, according to that mention'd in the Transactions of the Stewards Lodge.

This regulation antedates by ten years the first printed statement on the subject, and is another proof of the similitude between the Irish practice and that of the Antients in England. I consider that this English rule probably embodies what had long been the Irish custom in regard to military Lodges, but was published only in 1768.

These Irish regulations printed in the last-mentioned year gave the Army Lodges preferential treatment. While each civilian Lodge was called on to pay 10/10 annually, Rule XXVI. laid down:—

No Army Lodge on the Registry of this Kingdom, shall at any Time be charged with any Dues payable to the Grand Lodge, as annual Contributions, except for the Time they remain on *Dublin* Duty.

Rule XXVII. was even more important:—

No Army Lodge shall for the future, make any Townsman a Mason, where there is a registered Lodge held in any Town where such Lodge do meet: And no Town Lodge shall make any Man in the Army a Mason, where there is a warranted Lodge held in the Regiment, Troop, or Company, or in the quarters to which such Man belongs. And any Army or other Lodge making a Mason contrary to this Rule, to be fined a Guinea.

In reference to the far-reaching effects of this law Gould remarks¹:—

The Irish practice of only curtailing the freedom of their Military, when calculated to be prejudicial to the interests of their Stationary Lodges, appears to have always prevented any friction between the two bodies, and has enabled the former, on several occasions, to be the means of establishing local (or civil) Lodges in continents or islands where the regiments to which they were attached happened to be sent on duty.

Regarding the way in which this Rule was carried out, it would seem that from the first it applied to officers as well as the rank and file. So on the 5th June, 1783, High Knight Templars Lodge No. 584 Dublin² was fined one guinea for having initiated Lieutenant O'Berne "of a Provincial Regiment."

¹ *Mil. Lo.*, p. 160.

² It was a Craft Lodge whose members all were connected with Kilwinning H.K.T. Encampment, hence the name.

This Regiment was the Ulster Provincial Regiment of Foot, holding Warrant 612, granted in February, 1783, which only existed for a few months as an Army Warrant, the regiment being disbanded on the close of the American War.

The Rule was also intended strictly to apply to visiting Army Lodges from other Constitutions. On the 5th April, 1792, the G. Secretary of Ireland was instructed to write to the G.L. of England to inform it that some of its Military Lodges in Ireland were initiating civilians, and to request it to instruct them to refrain from doing so. On the 3rd May ensuing, the Inspection Committee of Dublin was ordered to visit No. 252 E.C. (Antients) held in the 23rd Regt. and "report what they shall discover improper in conduct of sd. Lodge." Probably both entries refer to the one complaint.

If I have been right in suggesting that there was an unwritten tradition in Ireland giving ambulatory Lodges a temporary naturalization in whatever domiciles they occupied when away from home, it was a tradition that would seem to have persisted to a very late period. The following scraps of evidence will show that I have some grounds for adopting this theory.

In the official list published in December, 1804, giving the Masters and Wardens of all Lodges meeting in Dublin, we get two English Lodges included: No. 8 Andalusia in the 90th Regt. of Foot (1786-?), and No. 83 E.C. in the 9th Regt. (1803-1829).

Minutes of the G.L. of Ireland also give us:—

7th August, 1817. Lodge 446 E.C. held in the 68th Regt. reports its arrival in Dublin, names of officers, and place of meeting, No. 4 Johnson's Court on the 1st Tuesday.

2nd November, 1809. Read a letter from the Master and Wardens of Lodge 339 on the registry of England held in the 11th Light Dragoons. Ordered to be entered on the transactions of the Grand Lodge and acknowledged by the Secy.

It was not so entered, alas! but 5th April, 1810, we get the same English Lodge complaining against a Brother of No. 348 I.C.: "Letter to be acknowledged expressing approval of conduct of 339."

2nd August, 1810, a communication from Richard Aird W.M. and members of No. 263 E.C. held in the 7th Light Dragoons—to be answered by the Secy.

8th September, 1810, similar order in case of a letter from No. 311 E.C. in the 6th or Inniskilling Dragoons.

While on the 4th November, 1813, occurs the most striking instance of all, when Lodge 153 E.C. held in the Shropshire Militia joined in a report with Lodges 9, 13, 271, and 952 of Limerick, 837 Sligo Militia, and 961 Waterford Militia, that "Peter O'Dogherty & Henry Millwood are unworthy of the honour of being ranked among Masons." On which report both delinquents were expelled.

Not to overstrain the evidence, I think these extracts indicate that, to say the least of it, a very good understanding existed between the Grand Lodge of Ireland and the stranger ambulatory Warrants within its gates.

To come back to the enforcement of the Irish code, on the 6th April, 1815, No. 562 in the Tyrone Militia was fined two guineas and suspended till the money should be paid for making two civilians Masons in Tullamore. While on the 6th July, 1820, the same Rule was enforced in favour of an English Military Lodge, No. 704 in the 57th Regt., the offending Irish Lodges being No. 504 Skibbereen and No. 741 Cork Militia, each of which had initiated a soldier of the 57th Regiment. Thus the G.L. of Ireland protected English Army Lodges as well as its own.

A worse punishment befell Lodge No. 685, Port, Co. Donegal, which was warranted in 1788. On the 6th October, 1791, it was cancelled for having initiated some men of the 27th Regiment.

On the 5th January, 1815, we find the following striking item in the Grand Lodge Minutes:—"Read complaint from Lodges 562 and 846 held in the Tyrone Regiment, against Lodge 858 Tullamore for having initiated five military men of the Second Lancashire Regiment, the Tyrone Lodges being in the town—Ordered that the Master of 858 be called on to account for his having initiated those men when Military Lodges were in the town and also a Lodge held in the Second Lancashire Regiment." On the 2nd February, 1815, Lodge 858 was "fined according to rule."

Sometimes a strict application of this rule led to inter-constitutional friction calling for diplomacy; but unfortunately it usually was such secret diplomacy that we do not know the results. Thus in February, 1820, Lodge 895, held in the 71st Regt., reported Royal Chester Lodge No. 80 (1739-1838) for admitting an officer of the Regt. The matter was referred to the Committee of Inspection, which reported in March that the D.G. Secretary had been instructed to write to the Grand Secretary of England on the matter. I cannot tell what was the result.

Knowing that this Rule was constantly being enforced in order to increase the membership of the Military Lodges and the funds of Grand Lodge, will help the student, at times, to estimate the date at which a Regimental Warrant had become extinct. Thus since we find a large number of soldiers from the 9th Regt. being initiated in Lodge 367, Downpatrick, in the years 1785-6, we can conclude that No. 246, granted to that Regt. in 1754 and of which nothing had been heard since 1770, had ceased to exist by the mid-eighties; and such a conjecture has proved to be supported by later evidence. The point seems to me worth noting by every maker of extracts from old Minute Books.

For many years the Grand Lodge of Ireland continued this system of giving the Military Lodge preferential treatment.

In 1784 the price of new Warrants was raised to five guineas, but the Army was to have one at a cost of only £2:13:2. In the same year the fees of the D.G. Secretary were raised to 2/8½ for each Mason registered, but in 1788 it was ordered that the Army Lodges should pay but 1/1 for the registration of their members. Also the Rule passed in 1795, that all Lodges should register their members within three months of being raised Master Masons under fine of one guinea, was worded in such a way as to make it inapplicable to Military Lodges not actually stationed in Ireland.

We may not unfairly conclude that these special privileges were accorded to the Army Lodges partly on account of the conditions of the time rendering communications from abroad uncertain; partly because the military Mason was a person with little money to spare; partly because of the large numbers of Irish serving under the British flag; and partly because the Grand Lodge of Ireland was proud of its ambulatory Lodges.

XIII.

HOW THESE PRIVILEGES WERE WITHDRAWN.

It is cheering to find that the first move towards abandoning these great privileges came from the Army Lodges themselves.

In 1813 the Grand Lodge of Ireland was in great need of money. It had a costly Chancery lawsuit on hand, and the claims on its charity were immeasurably more than the funds for meeting them. In these circumstances the Irish Military Lodges stationed in Great Britain were circularized by one of their own number. The *Minutes* of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, under date

7th January, 1813, tell the outcome. It will be remembered that till then no Military Lodge was liable to pay annual dues, except when stationed in Dublin:—

B^r. Courtney Mast^r. 289 Antrim Militia reported communication with Military Lodges on the subject of the payment of annual dues of 10/10 by which it appears that they are nearly unanimous in agreeing to the said dues.

- B^r. Courtney therefore mov'd that the Military Lodges shou'd be chargeable with the annual dues of 10/10 from & after 24th June next, while Quarter'd in G^t. Britain, Ireland or the British isles—the motion being seconded by B^r. Robert Thompson Master 814 Fermanagh Militia, was order'd accordingly.

At the revision of the Laws which took place very shortly after this, the Army Lodges appear to have lost their privilege of a cheaper registration for their members; at least, I can find no trace of such a regulation in the Irish *Ahiman Rezon* of 1817, which codified the Laws in an intelligible form for the first time.

On the 4th November, 1824, came a further abrogation, when it was ordered "that from and after the 24th June, 1825, Military Lodges shall at all times be subject to the same Dues as the other Lodges on the Establishment." But even then the proviso was added: "No Military Lodge to be subject to punishment unless upwards of three years in Arrears." This three years' grace was not retained in the 1837 revision of the Constitutions. One may take 1824 as the date of the abolition of the special privileges of the Irish Army Lodges.

In the meantime, the first English regulation relating to Military Lodges had been published in 1815 after the Union. It was a new version of the Irish 1768 Rule, and ran:—

No military Lodge shall, on any pretence, initiate into masonry any inhabitant or sojourner in any town or place at which its members may be stationed, or through which they may be marching, nor any person who does not, at the time, belong to the military profession, nor any military person below the rank of a corporal, except as serving brethren, or by dispensation from the grand master or some provincial grand master.

Gould thinks that this English regulation confining the Craft to soldiers of a certain rank was also adopted by most Irish Military Lodges by means of special by-laws from about the same period.¹ This may have happened in some instances, and did to my knowledge, but I do not believe that it ever became general in the Irish Regimental Lodges. The only Irish Rule having any bearing on the matter appears in the 1858 Constitutions, forbidding any country, foreign or military Lodge to initiate a candidate for a less sum than £2:5:0 (Law 102). This minimum sum would, of course, in the case of most privates have been in itself prohibitive. It seems altogether apart from the spirit of Masonry, as I understand it, to make the privileges of the Craft depend upon a certain rank in society, but I am quite prepared to grant that special circumstances may have made such a course seem desirable in the case of the Army Lodges, just as in Ireland our Order is still barred to certain callings which are looked upon as degrading to a man of honour.

This same edition (1858) of the Irish Constitutions contains the only further regulation affecting Army Warrants to which I desire to refer. Law 108 runs:—

No military Lodge, under the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, shall make any civilian a mason in any part of the British dominions, when there is a registered Lodge held within ten miles

¹ Gould: *Mil. Lo.*, p. 159.

of the place where such civilian resides, or where such military Lodge then meets; and a Lodge of civilians shall not make any military man, below the rank of a commissioned officer, a mason, when there is a warranted Lodge held in the regiment to which such military man belongs.

This law was evidently adopted after consultation with the Grand Lodge of England, which passed one to the same purport in 1850. In my opinion, the phrase "below the rank of a commissioned officer" in the Irish law bears against the assumption that the private was contemplated as an ineligible candidate.

XIV.

THE DECLINE OF THE ARMY LODGES.

We have now to glance at the causes which led to the gradual decline and almost complete extinction of the Irish Military Warrants. During its two centuries of existence the Grand Lodge of Ireland has warranted over 210 Army Lodges of which we have details, and this number will be increased as we learn more about those early Irish Warrants which we know to have existed, though not the place or regiment contemplated in the grant.

Of existing Irish Military Lodges we have in this year of grace 1925 but seven:—

No. 295	in the 4th Dragoon Guards,	originally granted in 1758.
No. 322	„ „ 1st Worcester Regt.	„ „ „ 1759.
No. 570	„ „ 5th Dragoon Guards	„ „ „ 1780.
No. 390	„ „ West Indian Regt.	„ „ „ 1905.
No. 157	„ „ West African Regt.	„ „ „ 1908.
No. 524	„ „ Duke of Cornwall's	
	Light Infantry	„ „ „ 1921.
No. 571	„ „ First Dragoon Guards	„ „ „ 1923.

The three oldest, while inheritors of the traditions of their famous Warrants, have not passed through the years since their first formation without periods of dormancy. May it be long before any one of them takes another nap. From all their histories I wish to pick out only one incident, which relates to No. 322. Over fifty years ago this Lodge was specially complimented by the Irish Grand Lodge of Instruction for the perfect way in which it carried out the ceremonies according to the Irish ritual. It would be interesting to know whether the same working is still preserved in this old Lodge.

The youngest Military Lodge of all, No. 571, was consecrated on St. John's Day in Summer last year (1924) in the United Services Hall, Cologne, Germany. Its first Worshipful Master ranked as a member of the English, Irish and Scottish Constitutions. Thus has our Benjamin appeared to carry on the great tradition which makes the Grand Lodge of Ireland the ever-ready foster-mother of any body of soldier Brethren seeking a Warrant.

Having sent out a hearty fraternal greeting to the Army Lodges which are still flourishing, we must now turn to those which have become extinct.

A Military Lodge is, of course, much more subject to exterminatory causes than a stationary one. The whole, or the greater part of the membership may be extinguished in the course of a few months, or days, during a campaign. The continuance of Army Lodges also depends upon the amount of toleration extended by regimental commanders, or even on the opinions of those higher military authorities who are above the regimental commander. Such causes operated to kill many an Army Lodge. Apart from these, the outcry against secret societies of any kind which was very strong in the years 1820-50 led to

many Warrants being sent in. Gould¹ mentions the case of No. 441 in the 38th Regt. The Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, Sir Edward Blakeney, peremptorily ordered the meetings to cease, and "all documents connected with the institution to be forthwith returned to the parent society." That was the end of 441, and a similar ending came to not a few Irish Army Lodges about the same time, 1840.

The Grand Lodge Minutes of the period give us a number of entries such as the following:—

Read the application of Lodge 130 held in the 64th Regt. to be remitted Grand Lodge dues during the continuance of Lieut.-Col. Hill Dickson's prohibition of Masonic Meetings in the Regiment—
Complied with. (3rd March, 1831.)

Another cause of extinction was when Lodges exchanged their Irish for an English Warrant, as in the case of Hibernia and Union Lodge No. 633 E.C. in the 89th Regt., which was originally No. 863 I.C. The Irish Warrant was cancelled in 1818, as the Lodge had not communicated with Dublin for ten years. It continued to meet, however, and applied to the Prov. G.L. of Coromandel for a Warrant in June, 1819. In March, 1822, it was constituted No. XI. local, and was allotted No. 633 in 1836.²

In addition to all these tendencies towards disintegration, the Military Lodges were as subject as others to the ordinary disturbing influences that may attack any Masonic body: the indifference or slackness of members; internal feuds; customs too severe or too lax in accepting candidates, the one leading to cliquism and dry-rot, the other to a prostitution of the Craft and the deadly diseases that attend any form of prostitution. One may suspect any one of these causes in some of the instances I am about to offer, but perhaps the most potent cause of the decline of the Army Lodges may be that the general feeling of the Craft came to be against their continuance as a popular institution. It became gradually more and more difficult to obtain one of these Warrants, and the desire for them inside the Army itself seemed to diminish as the last century grew older.

XV.

HOW SOME WARRANTS DIED.

In beginning my examples of how some Irish Army Warrants became extinct, I give pride of place to Cameronian Lodge No. 26 in the 26th Regt. Cameronians, whose decrease is undoubtedly due to the late War. The Lodge was founded on the 7th December, 1758, as No. 309. A duplicate Warrant was granted in 1804; and in 1823, in accordance with the system then being adopted by the G.L. of Ireland, the Lodge became No. 26. It continued to work until 1913. Then came Armageddon, and the Warrant was handed in in March, 1922. What more honourable ending could any Military Lodge have had?

It was quite common in the eighteenth century for an Army Lodge to be lost sight of soon after its establishment. Thus No. 378 in the 10th Regt. was warranted 5th November, 1761, registered 27 members up to 1765, and then is silent. Similarly, No. 390, formed 2nd December, 1762, in the 2nd or Queen's Royal Regiment, is not heard of in the G.L. Records after that year. Both these Lodges were cancelled in 1815. One can only conjecture their endings. In the same way No. 535 in the 30th Regt., having been warranted in 1776, had a duplicate Warrant granted in 1805, but never communicated with Grand Lodge again, and was erased in 1823.

Not a few Military Lodges seem to have become extinct soon after 1810, perhaps owing to the Peninsular War: among these were No. 280 (1757) in the 8th Dragoons, and No. 297 (1758) in the 5th Dragoons.

¹ Gould: *Mil. Lo.*, p. 161.

² See Malden: *History of Freemasonry in Madras*, 1895.

No. 738 (1808) in the Welsh Fusiliers (23rd Regt.) became extinct almost as soon as founded. The regiment took part in the disastrous Walcheren Expedition of 1809, and its 2nd Battalion returned to England almost a skeleton. No wonder the Lodge in this Regiment did not flourish.

No. 251 in the 22nd Regt., originally warranted 28th November, 1754, is interesting on account of the note in the Grand Lodge Roll: "The Original Warrant No. 251 having been lost on the Mississippi River in the year 1759—a duplicate thereof was granted to the following Brethren on the 6th day of January, 1791." In all probability it was during the operations before Quebec that this Lodge lost its Warrant, and it would be interesting to discover whether it worked without one during the ensuing thirty odd years. It registered 22 members in 1791 and none after that. It was erased in 1817.

No. 604, warranted in 1782, in the 11th Foot, only had 8 members registered up to 1794. It took part in the fighting in Corsica in 1793, and was cancelled in 1815. One of its members, William Brown, was relieved by the Grand Stewards Lodge (Antients) in 1796. This campaign in Corsica, when Bastia was captured, 22nd May, 1793, and the island subsequently occupied for two years, is notable in our eyes because every one of the regiments taking part in the operations at one time or another held, or was holding, an Irish Warrant. They were: 1st Royals, No. 11 (1732-1847); 11th Regt., No. 604 (1782-1815); 25th Regt., No. 92 (1749-1815); 30th Regt., No. 85 (1738-1793) and No. 535 (1776-1823); 50th Regt., No. 113 (1763-1815); 51st Regt., No. 690 (1788-1801) and No. 94 (1763-1815); 69th Regt., No. 174 (1791-1821). It would be hard to find a more striking example of the Craft following the flag.

Another instance of a Lodge being extinguished by the operations of war is that of No. 692 in the 27th Regt., which was issued by Seton in 1808 and later confirmed by Grand Lodge. An entry in the Roll tells us that the first Worshipful Master was shot in Sicily. The Warrant was returned in 1818.

My last instance of this kind comes from our own times. On the 5th March, 1915, three Brethren from distant corners of Ireland, Donegal, Cork and Dublin, with four others, founded "Active Service Lodge" No. 415 in the 7th Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers. The first Batt. was the old 87th, the regiment of which our Brother the gallant Lieutenant John Shipp wrote after fighting beside it in 1815:—

I must confess I do love to be on duty on any kind of service with the Irish. There is a promptness to obey, a hilarity, a cheerful obedience, and willingness to act, which I have rarely met with in any other body of men; but whether, in this particular case, those qualifications had been instilled into them by the rigid discipline of their corps, I know not, or whether these are characteristics of the Irish nation: but I have also observed in that corps (I mean the 87th regiment, or Prince's Own Irish) a degree of liberality amongst the men I have never seen in any other corps—a willingness to share their crust and drop on service with their comrades, an indescribable cheerfulness in obliging and accommodating each other, and an anxiety to serve each other, and to hide each other's faults. In that corps there was a unity I have never seen in any other; and as for fighting, they were very devils. During the Peninsular war, some general officer observed to the Duke of Wellington, how unsteadily that corps marched. The noble Duke replied, "Yes, general, they do indeed; but they fight like devils." So they always will while they are Irish. In some situations they are perhaps too impetuous, but if I know anything of the service, this is a fault on the right side; and, what at the moment was thought rashness and madness, has gained Old England many a glorious victory.

In this regiment of which Brother John Shipp speaks so highly No. 415 passed through the Great War. The Battalion which contained it having become extinct, last year that Warrant was returned to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, the main object which had brought the Brethren together having been happily accomplished some time previously. A brief span of life for any Lodge, but not altogether inglorious.

Coming to deaths of Warrants by disbandment, we find that on 2nd December, 1762, Warrants 388 and 389 were issued to the first and second Squadrons respectively of Lord Drogheda's Light (18th) Dragoons. No. 388 was cancelled 1813, but No. 389 survived till 1820, when the Roll records: "This Regiment disbanded and the Warrant given up 15 Sept. 1821."

No. 661 in the 13th Regt. (1787-1819) has this obituary in the same volume: "Warrant sent in and filed on 18 May 1819, in consequence of the Commander refusing to allow a Masonic Lodge to be held in the Regiment." The same fate overtook the first of all Military Warrants, No. 11: "Warrant given up April 1847 by order of Col. Maunsell."

"This Regimt. Broak and the Members all Disparsd to Differant parts of the World," tells the end of No. 364 in the 92nd Regt. (1764-circa 1767); while Lodge No. 244 in the 2nd Regt. (1754-1825) having survived the loss of its Warrant by shipwreck in 1809, finally gave up its charter on being ordered abroad to India.

In the case of St. John's Lodge No. 400 held in the 13th Regt. of Dragoons and a very flourishing one from 1791 to 1849, during which period it registered 265 members, one can feel the touch of a Brother's hand closing the eyes of the moribund Masonic body: "Returned Warrant July 24, 1849, with jewels, Lodge furniture etc. to be sold & amount recd. for them to be presented to the Orphan School."

This last is a pleasing instance of the spirit of a Lodge being strong even in death, but I must not conceal that the ends of some of these Army Warrants were far from being examples of edification.

No. 300 in the 16th Foot had ceased to work by 1786. Some Brethren of No. 293 possessed themselves of it, and refused to return it to Grand Lodge, and consequently were excluded "for improper Conduct in the sale of Wt. No. 300, which was left in their Care."¹

No. 260 in the 2nd Battalion of the 28th Regt., granted 2nd April, 1809, had a very short regular course. The Grand Lodge Roll says: "Warrant sold in Plymouth & Cancelled by order Grand Lodge 1st July 1815." The inner history of this Lodge is that it was originally warranted as No. 6 by the Prov. G.L. of Andalusia (1786) and took an Irish Warrant from Seton at least as early as October, 1807, this latter one being legalized in 1809.

By far the most interesting case of this sort that has come within my knowledge is the fate of No. 85. It was granted 30th May, 1738, for Colonel Harward's (30th) Regt. of Foot. No names whatsoever were registered, and nothing was heard of it officially till the year 1793, when Grand Lodge Minutes resume the tale as follows:—

(4th July, 1793.) Read a Lett^r. from N^o. 20, 25, 53, 132 & 276—held in Liverpool & under the Sanction of the G. L. of England, stating that N^o. 85 under this G. L. & held in s^d town had done, & continue to make Masons for small & paltry considerations—Ordered that the said Lodges do call N^o. 85 before them & enquire more fully into the said Charges & report thereon.

(1st August, 1793.) Read a Lett^r. from sundry Lodges in Liverpool containing the War^t. N^o. 85 (see last transaction)—Ordered that the thanks of this R. W. Lodge be conveyed to the said Lodges for their exertions & attention to the Masonic Order.

¹ G.L. Minutes, 14th Dec., 1786.

XVI.

AVE, FRATER, ATQUE VALE!

We have seen that while these Army Lodges at one time existed in scores they can now be counted in units only. Their decline has been traced, and opinions on their fate must be expected to vary: some will hold that the institution of these Marching Warrants gave rise to many abuses, others that those abuses were outweighed by the advantages that accrued to the Craft.

As no historian can be quite impartial, and least of all the present one on such a theme, his final duty is to summarise his reasons for thinking that our Order was, on the whole, much the gainer by these Military Lodges.

They arose in a brutal age that had crude ideas about tolerance and humane dealing and general decency of conduct, and by the symbolic lessons of our great Fraternity they taught the blessedness of such qualities, and taught it precisely to those bodies of men who stood in particular need of keeping a strong chain on their passions and prejudices. That the British Army in the eighteenth century never was disgraced by a reputation for cold-blooded cruelty towards its enemies or the disposition to tyrannise over its fellow-citizens, dare not, of course, be attributed solely to the ministrations of these Masonic Lodges; but this I dare assert, that the influence of the Lodges would have tended towards such a consummation.

Further, the labours of these Army Lodges must have had a weighty influence on the Craft generally. Our Military Brethren were accustomed to a stern discipline, and would endeavour to have their ceremonies performed as if on parade. In our own day you never see finer Masonic working than when it is being carried out by Service men, and there is no lack of evidence that our Military Brethren of a century ago and more were quite as meticulous in having things "just so." What a lesson it must have been for many a local Lodge to observe the way in which the soldier Masons of the garrison performed the ceremonies; nor is it any wonder that we find the Military Mason's name set down as that of an honoured visiting instructor in many of the old Minute Books.¹ It seems almost a paradox to suggest that these ambulatory Lodges also inculcated among the stationary Lodges a deeper feeling of loyalty to the Grand Lodges, because, as we have seen, many of them only communicated with their Mother Constitutions at long intervals; but they were undoubtedly sticklers for the Masonic Code, as they knew it, and by inculcating a reverence for that Code they were at the same time instilling a reverence for the authority that had set it forth, the Grand Lodges whence they sprang.

Again, they must have acted as disseminators of Masonic information. Many and many a Mason abroad can have learnt of the great Modern-Antient controversy only by such means. Many and many a stationary Lodge which had been a law unto itself for years must have received a shock to its complacency on finding that a Lodge consisting of "poor common soldiers" considered it irregular because it had been erased for non-payment of dues. There were further things as well to be learnt from the ambulatory Lodges, degrees that were mere names till their arrival—the Royal Arch, the High Knight Templar, and others now extinct.

Again, they spread the light of Masonry. Many of the greatest Masonic Constitutions of the world can trace their first springs to an itinerant Military Lodge.

¹ Various scraps of evidence show us that the honour of their regiments was very dear to these Military Lodges, and they were prompt in condemning any member who proved himself a disgrace to the King's coat:—"Read a report from Lodge 289 Antrim Militia stating their having excluded Danl. Jackson late of that Lodge for having defrauded several Brethren & for Desertion & desiring a Confirmation thereof—Confirm'd—Jackson expell'd." (*Minutes*, G.L., Ire., 2nd Jany., 1812.) "Read report from Lodge 309 stating their having excluded Alexr. McMillan of said Lodge for desertion—Confirm'd." (*Ibid*, 1st Decr., 1814.)

"Once more, and this the last": before we reject the claims of these travelling Lodges on a kindly remembrance, we shall do well to consider that they helped to form the characters of the men who created the Empire that became our birthright. In days when the soldier was prepared for looking death in the face by having his back turned upon most of the comforts and amenities of civilian life, the Regimental Lodge was a place where he again became an individual with influence on his fellows; where he was taught self-respect and a manly independence of thought, together with a speculative disregard for the rank and fortune to which he had no hope of ever attaining; where the sordidness of his everyday drudgery was forgotten in contemplation of a noble ideal of freedom from the worse fetters of ignorance and vice; and where the most striking lesson of all was impressed, the fortitude to choose death rather than dishonour.

My belief is that our beloved Order not only helped the soldier's lot but that the Army proved a nursery of good and earnest Masons, and in this faith I offer this chaplet of rosemary to the memory of our nameless Brother, "the poor common soldier."

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Lepper, on the proposition of Bro. John Stokes, seconded by Bro. Geo. Norman; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. Wonnacott, A. Heiron, J. F. R. Darbyshire, J. J. Nolan, Chas. S. Burdon and H. T. Inman.

Bro. JOHN STOKES, in proposing a vote of thanks to Bro. Lepper, referred to the following Lodges that had met at Sheffield under the Constitution of the Antients:—

No. 72A. In the 11th Regt. of Foot. Warranted in 1758. Lapsed about 1767. This Regt. had another Athol Warrant No. 313 in 1798, while at Norwich, and worked under it at St. Pierre, Martinique, in 1807 and perhaps later.

No. 72B. Warranted in Sheffield in 1772. Lapsed shortly afterwards.

No. 72C. Warranted in 1776. Met at Freemasons' Hall, Paradise Square. In 1796 amalgamated with the Britannia Lodge No. 139.

No. 75A. In the 72nd Regt. of Foot. Warranted in 1759. Lane says (p. 88) that this No. was taken in 1764 by No. 85, also a Sheffield Lodge, but that it lapsed in the following year. The 72nd Regt. held an Irish Warrant No. 65 from 1854 to 1860.

No. 176. In the 1st Regt. Yorkshire Militia. Warranted in 1772. Was in York in 1775 and took the name of Moriah Lodge. Lapsed about 1777. Riley (p. 35) says that this Lodge appears in the Irish list as No. 174 in 1804.

There is a long-standing tradition in Sheffield that the Craft was introduced by an Irish Regiment stationed there. This was told to me by a Brother who was Master of the Britannia Lodge in 1840, and he had received it from a Brother who was Master in 1796.

I do not know of any evidence to support the tradition, but it may be noted that a troop of Irish Foot was sent from the headquarters at Nottingham and was stationed in Sheffield for some years after the '45, to cut off stragglers who retreated through the Peak district. Some of these refugees remained in the Peak, and at Castleton their descendants still reside.

Bro. CHAS. S. BURDON writes:—

I have visited a good many Irish Lodges, and I well recall attending some of the meetings, when on Sick Leave in 1918, of one attached to the 5th (Princess Charlotte's) Dragoons. This has a Set of Working Tools, with Inscription Plates thereon, that was presented by a Q.M. of the Regt. who served throughout the Peninsular and also at Waterloo. There is a tradition that the French captured the Regimental Chest during the former campaign, but returned the Masonic Kit intact.

Bro. JOHN BOWERS (P.M., Lodge No. 571, I.C.) writes:—

The reference to the Lodge No. 11 'First Royals' is a sad one. I once talked with a man who served under Col. Maunsell; from him I learnt that John Maunsell forced the Lodge of 'Holy St. John' No. 11, I.C., to give up their Warrant, because of pressure from General Blakeney. General Blakeney was at one time Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Foot, but at which period, before 1847 or after, I cannot at this moment say. Blakeney's picture hangs in the Officers' Mess of the 2nd Bn. at Colchester. He was a member of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick, but I am unable to say if he was a Freemason. We intend to make an effort to revive the Lodge in the First Bn. 'Royals' on their return from Aden this winter, for service in Scotland.

Bro. Col. the Rt. Hon. ROBERT H. WALLACE, Junior Grand Warden, of Ireland, writes:—

In reference to Lodge 524 now in the 1st Battn. of the Duke of Cornwall's Lt. Infantry; this Battalion was stationed at Ballykinlar, Co. Down, for two or three years; there were a good many Masons amongst both Officers and Men—some of the former had only obtained one degree, when the Regiment arrived at Ballykinlar, and accordingly as Secretary of Lodge 86 (Downpatrick) I received requests to complete their Masonic education in our Lodge, which I need hardly say was at once complied with. I happened to mention to the Sergt.-Major when visiting our Lodge, that I wondered that as the Duke of Cornwall's had always been such a Masonic Regiment, they had not a Lodge of their own; he told me that they were anxious to have one, but could not get a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England. I suggested to him that now they were in Ireland they might possibly have less difficulty with *our* Grand Lodge—the result being Warrant No. 524.

As there was no Brother serving in the Regiment who had ever filled the Office of Warden, they were at a loss for a W.M., and accordingly I was asked to fill this position, which I did. The Lodge was Installed and Constituted in Downpatrick, and they sent me from India—where they shortly afterwards went—a beautiful Founder's First Master's Jewel. In connexion with this it is rather funny that every one of them of course were Cornishmen, but yet they recognised themselves as being *Irish Masons*, and at their last meeting here, when I installed, by permission of the Grand Lodge, the Senior Warden as W.M., he promised faithfully that they would always work in strict accordance with the Irish Constitution.

Shortly afterwards I received a letter from him after their arrival in India, saying that there was another Lodge (stationary) working under an Irish Warrant which they had visited, but found they were not working according to our Irish ritual. The concluding paragraph of his letter was rather amusing. It ran: "Sir,—You will be glad to hear that this (the stationary Lodge) is now working as they ought to do under Irish Ritual."

I think this certainly confirms your theory in regard to the influence of the Irish Military Lodges in spreading the 'Antient' Ritual.

BRO. GILBERT W. DAYNES writes:—

May I, as the youngest member of the Lodge, add my quota of thanks to you, W.M., for having given us such an interesting paper, dealing with the Irish ambulatory Lodges. These Lodges must have come into existence in consequence of a real want felt by "the poor common soldier" for that fraternal intercourse, help, and comfort, which Freemasonry gave to those who were initiated into its mysteries. I am sure we are all grateful to you for bringing into Masonic focus a subject which is undoubtedly of historical importance, and upon which very little has been written.

Your mention of the Duke of Norfolk's Lodge No. 58, S.C., reminds me that "Thomas Lawless, Duke of Norfolk Lodge," is entered in the Minute Book of the Union Coffee House Lodge, Norwich, as having visited that Lodge on the 18th October, 1758.

Your reference to the use of the word "Warrant" by Dr. James Anderson in the 1st edition of the *Book of Constitutions* raises the interesting question of the different constructions placed on that word by the respective rulers of the Grand Lodges of England and Ireland in the first half of the eighteenth century. On referring to an edition of Kersey's *English Dictionary*, published in 1715, I find the word "warrant" defined as "an Order, an authentick Power, Permission, or Allowance." This definition seems to confirm your assumption, W.M., as to the meaning then placed upon the word by English Masons. There was, however, a document in use at that time, known as a "Warrant of Attorney," which the same Dictionary tells us was "a Deed by which a Man appoints another to do something in his Name, and warrants his Action." This may have suggested the formal Deputation to constitute used in England before the Warrant, as we now know it.

You have alluded to the Lodge No. 867, I.C., and the part taken by three of its members in founding the Antients Lodge at Peterborough, under No. 160. The Warrant, No. 160, was first issued by the Antients Grand Lodge, on 22nd March, 1769, to a Lodge to be held at the Queen of Hungary's Head, St. Swithin's Parish, Norwich. It soon fell into abeyance, but was revived at another Tavern, at Norwich, on 3rd September, 1787. This Lodge apostatized in 1792. It was restored to all its former privileges on the 7th March, 1792, but was cancelled on the 5th June, 1793. The Register is then a blank until we find that the Warrant was, on the 9th June, 1802, transferred to the Angel at Peterborough, on the recommendation of another Antient Lodge at Norwich, viz., Perseverance Lodge, No. 213. Eight names are given in the Register—apparently founders—and £2.2.0 was paid to the Antients Grand Lodge. Three of the Members, Hugh Fox, Samuel Stevens, Senr., and Thomas Collier, are stated as being from Lodge No. 867, I.C., but their occupations are not given. The remaining five members are stated as being from Perseverance Lodge, then No. 294, but I have only been able to trace three of them in the Register of Members of that Lodge. These three were made Masons, in No. 294, on the 24th April, 1802, having apparently come over from Peterborough for the purpose. One of them, Samuel Stevens, a Surgeon, was probably the son of the member of No. 867, I.C. No. 160 did not flourish at Peterborough. No further names are recorded in the Register, and lower down on the same page we find a note that the Warrant was, on 13th June, 1812, "revived and granted at the Red Lion, Pont y Pool."

You also refer to the catholicity of the taste for Warrants possessed by the 6th Dragoons. This Regiment was stationed at Norwich in 1797, when it applied for, and received from the Antients Grand Lodge Warrant No. 311. There appear from the Register to have been eight founding members, six of whom, viz., William Duncan, Pat. McKaley, Alexander Law, Joshua Dandy, Pat. Hughes, and John Willson, are said to have come from No. 167, an Antients Lodge then meeting at the City of York Tavern, St. Michael's Coslany, Norwich. I have, however, been unable to trace Pat. McKaley, Pat. Hughes, and John Willson in the Register of Members for No. 167. The remaining

two founders—William Phillips and James Elliot—are stated to have come from an Irish Lodge, but, unfortunately, the number is left blank. The rank of none of the eight members is given. I am glad to be able to supply the names of those who founded No. 311, and I hope you will, at some future date, get further names, so as to test your theory.

Another Military Lodge founded by the Antients, at Norwich, was the one in the 11th Regiment of Foot, No. 313. It was founded early in 1798, and very shortly after No. 311. Both Regiments, one Cavalry and one Infantry, were undoubtedly quartered at Norwich at the same time. The founders, twelve in number, were members of other Norwich Lodges. The Rank of each member is given in the Register, and comprise: one Sergt.-Major, nine Sergeants, one Corporal, and one Private.

On going through the Register of Members of the Antient Lodges at Norwich, I have been impressed by the number of soldiers to be found as members during the last years of the eighteenth century. For instance, in Lodge No. 166, I find the names of thirty-three soldiers, of whom one was a Sergt.-Major, twenty-eight were Sergeants, one was a Corporal, and three were Privates. Of those Privates, two were in the Oxfordshire Militia, their occupations being Weaver and Gun-maker respectively, and the third a Tailor in the 9th (Norfolk) Regiment. Again, in No. 167 I find twelve Sergeants, two others from Militia Regiments, but with no ranks stated, and three who assisted to found No. 311 before referred to, but whose ranks are not stated. From these facts it would appear that, in Norwich, at any rate, only N.C.O.'s were admitted by the Antients into their stationary civilian Lodges, unless there was some special circumstance, which rendered a Private a particularly desirable member. I also think it would be found that many of these soldier Masons belonged to Regiments in which there were special Military Lodges under one of the several Grand Lodges existing at that period.

On the other hand, I have been equally impressed by the total absence of soldiers as members of Lodges, at Norwich, owing allegiance to the Premier Grand Lodge. The only exception to this was in the Maid's Head Lodge, where a considerable number of Officers, from the various Regiments quartered in Norwich, were either initiated, or became joining members, from 1780 until the records cease in 1797. With regard to tracing the officers of different Regiments, I believe I am correct in stating that the English Army List first appeared in printed form in 1754, and was published by permission of the Secretary of State for War until 1779, when it became an official War Office publication. It was not, however, until 1814 that the present monthly Army List commenced.

I am delighted that you have drawn attention to the great importance of knowing the names of as many members of the Craft in the eighteenth century as possible, and also of the way in which a knowledge of these names may sometimes be of the utmost value in elucidating some point in Masonic history. The particular case you have cited shows this very clearly, and many of us, who have been treading the weary path you have described, could tell of similar rewards after long hours of apparently useless work. My chief regret is that so few Lodge historians have realized the importance of adding to their histories appendices, not only of the names of members, but also of the names of visitors.

You have stated in your paper that, whereas the Grand Lodge of Ireland recognised migratory bodies of Masons, apparently the Grand Lodge of England did not. I would like to bring to your notice two Lodges, both constituted at Norwich under the Premier Grand Lodge, which were of an ambulatory character. On the 20th June, 1797, a Lodge was warranted at the Wagon and Horses, Tombland, Norwich, known as the Norwich Theatrical Lodge. The Country Register has the names of thirty-four members, of whom about half resided at Norwich, the remainder hailing from Yarmouth, Lynn, Colchester, Cambridge and other places in East Anglia. The reason seems to have been that, although Norwich was the headquarters of this Lodge, it accompanied the

Theatrical Company in the same way as Military Lodges travelled with their Regiments. In support of this theory I find in Berry's *Norwich Directory* for 1810:—

“No. 563 Norwich Theatrical, at the different Theatres in the circuit, second friday. June 26th, 1797.”

The other Lodge was a Lodge warranted on the 28th July, 1792, also by the Premier Grand Lodge, at the Little White Swan, St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich. From an early Minute Book of this Lodge it appears that, after about four years, it was in a moribund condition, and, in July, 1796, the furniture of the Lodge was purchased by brethren belonging to the Warwickshire Militia, then stationed at Norwich. It also appears that the outgoing Master “made a present of the Constitution to the Present Worshipful Master James Howell, who purchased the above apparatus.” Between May and August, 1797, the Regiment left Norwich, taking the Warrant with them, although it was one issued by the Provincial Grand Master of Norfolk. The Lodge travelled with the Regiment to many stations in England, as well as two in Ireland, and finally reached Warwick in 1802, where it has remained to this day, being now known as The Shakespeare Lodge, No. 284. This change from a civilian provincial Warrant to a military ambulatory one, and again back to a civilian one in another province, seems to have been carried through by the brethren concerned unchecked by the central authorities.

At one part of your paper, W.M., you refer to a Lodge of the Antients joining, when in Ireland, in a Report to the Grand Lodge of Ireland upon certain Masons who were delinquents, and who were expelled in consequence of that report. A similar state of affairs occurred in Norwich, in 1797, when Lodge No. 218, I.C., joined, with the Antient Lodges Nos. 166 and 294, in submitting a Report to the Antient Grand Lodge, at London, upon the behaviour of five Norwich Masons of Lodge No. 167. Lodge No. 218, I.C., was held in the 48th (Northamptonshire) Regiment. The following letter, preserved in Grand Lodge Library, fully describes the incident, and is as follows:—

“Norwich, 21st. Dec^r., 1797.

“Right Worshipful Sir and Brother,

In answer to your Letter we called a Committee on the Business of Lodge No. 167, consisting of 7 B^{rs}. exclusive of our Master & Wardens, Bro. Rob^t. Hewett in the Chair, Master of Lodge No. 166.

Committee Names.

B ^r . W ^m . Purcell	}	from 218 on the Registry of Ireland
B ^r . David Brown		
B ^r . James Larmont		
B ^r . Claxton	}	from 294, Norwich
B ^r . Hall		
B ^r . Todd	}	from 166, do.
B ^r . Rowe		

The Committee Hearing both parties Relation on the subject before mentioned to you—finding that the Transgressing Bros. as follows—Edward Gurling, Rob^t. Royd, John Barton, W^m. Batson, Thom^s. Springall—still persisting in holding fast the Remaining part of the Materials of the Lodge 167, that the had so illegally caried of by force, and would not submitt to any Just Rules of Regulation according to the Constitution, our Lodge sumoned all the Remaining Members of 167 which was in No. 11, caused them to Ballot for the warrant either to Remain at the Citty of York as before or to Remove it, and find^d. Every B^r. present for it to remain as before, we delivered to them the Warrant and Jewells in our possession, which is at present at the Citty of York, B^r. Hawks, Master; the

Committee also agreed that the 5 before Mentioned Transgressing B^r. is deemed unworthy of any more being a member of any Lodge of Antient Masons, as we have often before experienced many Broils and Truly Falshood, which arose by thier many Violations of the Rules of Masonry, and hope you will circulate their unworthiness as such.

“We shall take it as a favour if you forward the enclosed to Bro. Harper.”	Will ^m . Purcell	Master	} 218
	David Brown	S ^r .W.	
	James Larmont	J ^r .W.	
	W ^m . Claxton	Master	} 294
	George Hall	S ^r .W.	
	John Breett	J ^r .W.	
	Rob ^t . Hewett	Master	} 166 ”
	Jas. Williams	S ^r .W.	
	Jno. Criperry	J ^r .W.”	

On searching the Register of Members of Lodge No. 167 I find the names of the five delinquents. Against the names of Barton, Batson and Springall, is written, “excluded 14 Febr^y. 1797 ”; and against the names of Gurling and Royd—here spelt Ryan—is written, “excluded with Barton Botson & Springall by a Committee of all the other Lodges at Norwich, 21st. Febr^y., 1797.” Whether there is an error in these dates, or whether there was a considerable delay in sending in the report, it is now impossible to say. I have not yet been able to trace anything further as to Gurling and Royd, but the other three joined the rival and older Organization. I have found that those three—Barton, Batson and Springall—were made Masons, on the 16th August, 1798, in the Lodge, now known as Faithful Lodge, No. 85, which was then meeting at Norwich.

In conclusion, I think, W.M., that your paper should leave no doubt in our minds that it is quite incorrect to say, as I believe Dr. Samuel Johnson did on one occasion, that a soldier’s time, during the eighteenth century, was always passed “in distress and danger or in idleness and corruption.” The number of Military Lodges, constituted under the various Constitutions of Great Britain and Ireland, and joined by the lower ranks of the Army, conclusively proves, I think, that the soldiers of the eighteenth century had higher ideals than have often been attributed to them, ideals, perhaps, born and fostered in their Lodges. These soldiers, when fighting England’s battles, have invariably shown a stubborn endurance, fearless bravery and self-sacrificing patriotism. They were, throughout this period, with few exceptions, miserably educated, and exposed to what are now almost inconceivable hardships; yet we must never forget the debt that we, as a nation, owe to our fighting forces of the past for the part they took in the creation and consolidation of our world-wide Empire. I would like, with you, W.M., to retain in my memory the thought that, to very many of these courageous but now unknown soldiers, Freemasonry served as a sheet anchor in times of difficulty and danger.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER *writes*, in reply:—

I desire first of all to thank my friends, Brothers Robert H. Wallace and Roderick H. Baxter, for having drawn my attention to various little slips in the names of the Regiments which occurred in the proofs, and have now been corrected. Here, too, is the place to acknowledge my constant indebtedness to the Lodge of Research No. 200, I.C., to whom I owe all the transcripts I possess of the Irish official Masonic records, without constant reference to which this paper could not have been written. My debt in this, and other ways, to their Assistant Secretary, Brother Philip Crosslé, is much more than I can adequately acknowledge in words.

Next of all, I wish to return my warmest thanks to Brother J. E. Shum Tuckett for his masterly comments on Franco-Irish Military Masonry, which I have placed in a special appendix. The only matter in dispute between us is the date when the Life Guards of King James II. were drafted into the Royal Irish. Authorities differ; but it seems to me that such an event is more likely to have taken place after the Peace of Ryswick, when the French Regiments were being 'reformed,' than in 1693, when France and England were at war.

I have also to thank Brother de Lafontaine for most kindly presenting me with a certificate issued by the Parfaite Égalité Lodge in 1777 at Bapaume. This certificate shows that at this date the Lodge was certainly not working in accordance with British Masonic standards. As I have a conscientious objection against retaining such valuable original documents in my own possession, I have passed on Brother de Lafontaine's gift to our own Library, where those who want to learn something more about Parfaite Égalité may consult it; they will probably get a shock.

I would wish to congratulate Brother Gilbert Daynes on his very notable discovery of an ambulatory theatrical Lodge. It may seem captious to single out this one item from the helpful and illuminative comments with which he has illumined my paper, but I do so merely to give him the fullest credit for a happy and striking find.

I might mention, perhaps, that the quotation given by Brother Stokes from Riley (p. 35) contains an error of fact. Lodge 174, I.C., was actually held in the 69th Foot (1791-1821), and so is given in the list of Irish Lodges appended to the Dublin *Ahiman Rezon* of 1804.

To these and all the other Brethren who in their comments and communications have given this paper such a generous reception I can only express my deep appreciation of the kindly way in which they have acted, both as critics and audience.

APPENDIX.

THE FRENCH-IRISH FAMILY OF WALSH

and

THE LODGE IN THE FRENCH-IRISH REGIMENT OF WALSH.

By W.Bro. J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.M., 2076, P.A.G.S.B., Eng.

The Wor. Master has honoured me by an invitation to deal specially with the distinguished Irish family of Walsh and the traditional Lodge in the Walsh Regiment of Infantry. I should first, however, express my admiration of the W.M.'s Paper as a whole, and my opinion that it is a most valuable contribution to our *Transactions*.

The tradition, reduced to its fundamentals, is simply that a Masonic Lodge was at work in an Irish military unit in the year 1688. We do not claim to *prove* that the tradition is true, but we do consider that we show that, so far from being an absurdity, it is likely that it is a record of an actual fact.

The first point to be noticed is that in 1688 the military unit, whatever its name may have been, was in Ireland—not in France. K. James II. arrived at Kinsale in Mar., 1689, and proceeded at once to Dublin. Lauzun with 7,300 French troops came early in June, 1690, and immediately Col. Justin MacCarty, Lord Mountcashel, departed to France with 'five Regiments of Irish,' the *first* contingent of the Hibernian troops in the service of France. (*Memoirs of D. of Berwick*, Eng. trans., 1779, i., 60.) Whereabouts in Ireland the

unit in question may have been in 1688 it is impossible to say. According to the *Memoirs* of K. James II., 'All the troops that Tyrconnel had been able to raise were absorbed by the Protestant rising in Ulster,' but there were certainly 'Irish Regiments' in garrison in other parts besides the North, *e.g.*, Drogheda.

Next, thanks to Bro. Chetwode-Crawley, we are able to state with absolute certainty that in 1688 Freemasonry of a Speculative kind was at work and well known in Ireland. On 11 July, 1688, an orator in Dublin had to deliver a speech of a topical and facetious character to a numerous assembly consisting of University men, prominent citizens, and ladies and gentlemen of rank and fashion, amongst whom military men must necessarily have been represented. It was vital to the orator's success that his audience should understand what he was talking about, and be quick to catch the allusions he made in the course of his oration. He selected Freemasonry as a suitable subject for his purpose, and, the inference is obvious that the Craft was well known, so far as its externals were concerned, to the public at large. Further, the Freemasonry in question was not exclusively or even mainly operative, nor was it confined to any particular class in Society. Again, the speech discloses the fact that in 1688 Freemasonry in Ireland was no novelty, for the sentence:—

"From Sir Warren, for being Fremasonized the new way, five shillings,"

necessarily implies that in 1688 there was an *old* way.

A great point in the Tripos speech is the discovery of the 'Mason's Mark' upon the carcase of one Ridley, proving him a Brother, to the grief and shame of the Society. Now Ridley was a real personage, a notorious spy and informer making a living by betraying Catholic priests to their doom under the inhuman Penal Laws. However we may look at it, Ireland in 1688 was in a state of rebellion and civil war. The Protestants were under arms and in rebellion against K. James II., and the Catholics were under arms and in rebellion against K. William III. It is a safe deduction that the difference between the *new* and the *old* 'Freemasonizing' in some way arose out of differences in politics and religion, and the Irish Regiments of K. James II., if they concerned themselves at all with 'Freemasonizing,' would have been attached to the 'old' type rather than the 'new.'

The Battle of the Boyne (July, 1690) decided K. James to quit Ireland as speedily as possible. He crossed from Kinsale to Brest on a ship of the French Royal Navy, landing safely on the 20th July. After his departure the Irish and French troops kept up the struggle, valiantly but to no purpose, into the following year, until the disasters at Aughrim (July) and Limerick (October) rendered further resistance hopeless, and sent thousands of Irish soldiers into voluntary exile. From Limerick 9,000 and from Cork 4,000 disembarked at Brest early in December, 1691, being received by K. James in person. Some 2,000 more straggled over in small parties, and from December, 1691, to February, 1692, K. James was occupied in organising this Irish-French force quartered along the Normandy and Brittany coast. In January he proposed to K. Louis an establishment of seven Infantry Regiments, each of 1,400 men in two Battalions, and one Cavalry Regiment of 600. Actually, nine Infantry, two of 'dismounted Dragoons,' two of Cavalry, and two of Life Guards, were formed. In 1697, the establishment was reduced to eight Infantry, only one of Cavalry being retained. At the same time the Life Guards were 'broken,' the men for the most part being drafted into one of the Irish Infantry Regiments (the Royal Irish). The great Duke of Berwick (*Memoirs* i., p. 139) says that he was then (1697) appointed Colonel of one of the Irish Regiments.

In contemporary documents the word 'Regiment' is used in a very loose way. Even *after* the organisation just described it is often difficult to know whether a whole Regiment is meant or only one of its constituent Battalions, while *before* it would seem that the word 'Regiment' was considered a correct description of any number of men collected together or detached for some specific service. Another serious difficulty that hinders our enquiry is the constant

shuffling and reorganisation that went on right down to the French Revolution, whereby a unit would sometimes lose its old name and identity in another unit to which it became united or in which it became absorbed.

The commander of the *Lauzun*, the ship on which K. James II. escaped to France after the Battle of the Boyne, was an Irish gentleman of ancient and honourable descent, James Walsh, 'of Ballynacooly in the Walsh Mountains in County Kilkenny,' whose estates forfeited in 1665 were only nominally restored by K. Charles II. He served in the French Royal Navy, as did also his son Philip (1666-1708), his second in command, and a kinsman James Walsh de Valoio. Thus commenced an intimate friendship between the Walsh Family and the Jacobite Royal Family, which continued to the time of the titular K. Henry IX. (Cardinal York). Early in June, 1692, K. James commenced to issue commissions to privateers, one of the very first being the *St. Aaron* commanded by James Walsh de Valois, who took Philip with him. On the 22 June the *St. Aaron*, with the *Coetquen* commanded by the famous Duguay Trouin, returned to St. Malo with 14 valuable prizes, and Philip, with his prize-money, fitted a frigate *l'Amitié* (200 tons, 20 guns, 140 soldiers) which he himself commanded. Later he settled in St. Malo, as a shipbuilder, and as such constructed several men-of-war for the French Navy. In 1695 he married a Waterford lady and by her had four sons. In those days the commander of a French warship was a *soldier*, and the fighting was done by *soldiers*, the navigation only being the business of the sailors under the Captain, who was often both soldier and sailor too, and necessarily so on privateer-ships. It therefore follows that James Walsh, his son Philip, and James Walsh de Valoio were all of them accustomed to enlisting soldiers and forming fighting units for service on their various ships.

The two youngest of the four sons of Philip Walsh of St. Malo were both of them on intimate friendly terms with the Old Pretender and his family and also in close touch with the French King and his Ministers. These were Antoine Vincent Walsh and François Jacques Walsh.

Antoine Vincent (1703-1763), after a period of service in the French Navy, settled at Nantes, and became a wealthy shipbuilder. He and his friend and compatriot, Heguerty, a shipowner and shipbroker, resident in Paris, were the principal agents entrusted with the important task of making the preparations for the expeditions to this country projected for 1744 and 1745, as is shown by the correspondence which passed between Heguerty, Antoine Walsh, Prince Charles, his father, K. Louis, and various Ministers. Antoine Walsh, amongst other duties, was concerned in the enlistment of *gens-de-levée* or soldiers for service on the men-of-war. At this time Heguerty's son was with Antoine Walsh.

Heguerty, or D'Heguerty as he signs himself, with Charles Radcliffe (Lord Derwentwater) and an untraced Maskelyne, founded in 1725 the first Lodge in Paris, out of which within about seventeen years there developed an organisation attracting members from all classes, not excepting the highest, with Lodges in many parts of the country. This organisation was not an off-shoot from the Grand Lodge of England, but an independent foundation set up by adherents of the exiled Stuart claimants to the throne of Great Britain. It does not, however, follow that it included either political or religious propaganda amongst its activities, for of that there is no real evidence. That the 'old' way of 'Freemasonising' in Ireland in 1688 and the Freemasonry of the Radcliffe-Heguerty body of 1725 were akin can hardly be open to doubt. There is indubitable evidence that in the middle of the eighteenth century there was an extensive Masonic organisation which claimed to have Prince Charles Edward Stuart for its Grand Master. The earliest dated Lodge in its 1776 List is of the year 1746. It is no rash speculation that this organisation was a continuation of the one which grew out of the Radcliffe-Heguerty Lodge at Paris in 1725.

On July 2, 1745, Prince Charles set sail from St. Nazaire for Scotland in the *Dutillet* (*Du Teillay*), a fine privateer (150 tons, 18 guns) owned by

Antoine Walsh, who went with him. He landed at Borodale on August 16th, and on the 19th sent off despatches to his father and to the Kings of France and Spain by Walsh, having first knighted him and presented him with a sword of honour. K. James III (The Old Pretender) created Antoine Vincent Walsh Earl Walsh in the Peerage of Ireland (Patent. October 20th. 1745.), and K. Louis at once put him in charge of the preparations for the expedition to be sent from Dunkerque in support of Prince Charles. The Warrant or Commission (dated November 16th, 1745, signed Louis and Phélypeaux) confers remarkably extensive powers on Earl Walsh. From a letter from Maurepas to Earl Walsh, dated Versailles, December 24th, 1745, we learn that:—

. . . instead of 12 battalions of which there was question at first, there will be 18 to be embarked, of which the 6 Irish will form part, and to these will be joined a Regiment of Dragoons, with that of Fitz James also.

The last-named was no doubt the 'Regiment of Irish Cavalry of Fitz James,' and I conjecture that it was the one retained at the reorganization in 1697. The Duke of Berwick (1670-1734), natural son of K. James III., was Duke of Liria in the Spanish Peerage, this title descending through his son by his first wife, the widow of Lord Lucan. He was also Duke of Fitz James in the Peerage of France, this title being secured to his heirs by his second marriage (1700) with the daughter of Colonel Bulkeley, who commanded one of the Irish Infantry Regiments. The eldest son James (b. 1702) used the title until he *d.s.p.* 1721; the second and third sons (Francis, Bishop of Soissons, and Henry, *d.s.p.* 1731) never assumed it. The fourth son (b. 1714) became 2nd Duke of Fitz James in 1734.

Prince Charles escaped from Scotland in 1746 in the frigate *l'Heureux*, reaching Roscoff early in October. A certain Col. R. De Warren had been sent to escort the Prince, and with him was the son of Philip Walsh de Valoio (or Valois), the head of the Spanish Walshes. Col. De Warren wrote to Earl Walsh from Roscoff (October 10th, 1746) concerning his young relative:—

. . . (he) is a nice young man who behaves admirably. . . .
I presented him to H.R.H. . . . and I am . . . to send him a sword on H.R.H.'s account.

In the secret correspondence of Prince Charles and his father, after the failure of the '45, Earl Walsh figures as Le Grand or Legrand, and Heguerty as Desborough. In 1753 K. Louis granted *Lettres D'Arrêt* bearing recognition of nobility in favour of Earl Walsh.

François Jacques (1704-1782) became a shipbuilder at Cadiz. He obtained recognition of noble birth in 1754, and was created Comte de Serrant, March, 1755. In 1745 he offered to transport two Regiments to Scotland at his own expense, and was to have gone in command, but the expedition was abandoned. At Earl Walsh's death (1763) the Comte de Serrant became Prince Charles Edward's representative at the Courts of France and Spain. He had three sons: (1) Antoine Joseph Philippe (1744-1817); (2) Charles Edward de Serrant (1746-1820); Phillippe François (1763-1852). All these served in the Franco-Hibernian Regiments.

Antoine Joseph Philippe, 2nd Comte de Serrant, received his first commission (Versailles, 13 July, 1760, signed Louis and Boyer) as:—

"Lieutenant en Second in the Company of Mortaugh O'Brien in the
"Regiment of Irish Infantry of Clare."

He was made an Honorary Captain 'réformé à la suite' in the Regiment of Irish Cavalry of Fitz James in July, 1762, at which time the 2nd Duke de Fitz James was in command and the Marquis de Fitz James, his son, Maréchal du Camp. John Charles, Marquis de Fitz James, was one of the *Députés* at the reorganisation of the *Grande Loge Nationale de France* in 1771 and was

appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies. I suspect that the Regiment of Clare became absorbed in the Regiment of Roscommon at some time between 1766 and 1770. However, that may be, when Lord Wentworth-Dillon, Count of Roscommon, died in 1770 the command of the Regiment of Roscommon was given to Antoine Joseph Philippe Walsh (originally of the Regiment of Clare) and the name of the Regiment was changed to the Regiment of Walsh. The following letter (unaddressed) is evidently to Col. de Walsh-Serrant:—

Versailles,

10 May 1773.

The King having judged proper, Sir, to incorporate . . . the Irish Regiment of Infantry which you command in the Corsican Legion which takes the name of the Dauphiné . . . His Majesty has named you to be Colonel of the Regiment of Bassigny which is to be formed of the 2nd and 4th Battalions of the Regiment of Aunis; you will have for Lt.-Colonel, M. Castillon de Monchamp, who is of the Regiment of Aunis, and for Major, M. Clarke, who is of the Regiment of Balckley (Bulkeley). Mr. Butler, Lt.-Colonel of the Regiment of Walsh becomes Lt.-Colonel of the Regiment of Aquitaine . . . when you were nominated Colonel of the Regiment of Roscommon . . .

(Signed) The Maréchal Du Muy.

This was apparently *titular* command of a French Regiment; intended probably to confer equal status with the other Colonels of the French Army proper in the Dauphiné Legion, for Col. de Walsh-Serrant did not relinquish the actual command of the Walsh Regiment. In 1776 the Walsh Regiment was re-established by the exertions of its Colonel-commandant with the assistance of the Prince de Montbarrey.

Versailles 20th July 1776.

It is impossible to be more appreciative than I am, Sir, of the letters which you have done me the honour to write to me . . . on the re-establishment of the Regiment of Infantry of Walsh. If I have been happy enough to contribute to it, I find myself amply compensated by the thought of having rendered to the Irish nation the justice it deserves . . .

(Signed) The Prince De Montbarrey.

Col. de Walsh-Serrant was created Chevalier of the R. and M. Order of Saint Louis, 4th July, 1777, and promoted Brigadier of Infantry (intermediate rank between Colonel and General) 1st March, 1780 (Commission Signed Louis and The Prince de Montbarrey), and, on the death of his father at Serrant, 20th August, 1782, he succeeded as second Comte de Serrant. He was given a Brigade, 1st January, 1784 (Commission Signed Louis and The Mal. De Segur). The two following communications are interesting:—

The Comte de Walsh having given to Antoine François Walsh, born in 1767, the charge of Sub-Lieutenant Supernumerary of his Company of Walsh in the Irish Regiment of Infantry which you command . . . cause him to be recognised in the said charge . . .

(Signed) Louis,
The Mal de Segur.

Written at Versailles, 2d. Sepber, 1784.

. . . Seeing the present letter of the King addressed to the Comte de Walsh signifying that His Majesty has given to the said Antoine François Walsh the appointment of Sub-Lieutenant Supernumerary in the Company of Walsh. We . . . as Colonel-General of the French and foreign infantry, inform the Comte de

Walsh, and in his absence the officer who commands the Regiment of Walsh to receive . . .

(Signed) Louis Joseph De Bourbon.
Boulogne De Lascours.

Given at Paris, the 14th May,
1785.

This was the eldest son of Antoine Anthisme Walsh de Chassenon, second son of an elder brother of the first Comte de Serrant. With some hesitation I suggest that the 'Company of Walsh in the Irish Regiment of Infantry which you command' was possibly a memorial of a unit in which the Walsh family had a special and longstanding interest, which had at one time been independent but had been absorbed into the Regiment now (and since 1770) bearing the name 'Regiment of Walsh.' We shall meet with this 'Walsh Company in the Regiment of Walsh' again later on. Was the 'Regiment of Clare' the unit in question?

The 'Louis Joseph De Bourbon' who signed was either the Prince De Condé or the Duc De Chartres. They were both Freemasons, the latter succeeded the Prince De Clermont as Grand Master, and the former was a member of the famous Loge de Saint Jean de Montmorency-Luxembourg.

On the 20th July, 1787, K. Louis XVI. appointed the Comte de Serrant a member of the General Assembly to meet at Tours.

After the Revolution four (or five) of the Irish Regiments transferred their services to K. George III., amongst them the Walsh Regiment and its Colonel with his two younger brothers. Also, John Charles 3rd Duc De Fitz James—at least, the proposal was also made to him.

The Comte de Serrant's Commission is dated, Palace of St. James, 1st October, 1794, and is signed Portland:—

George the Third, by the grace of God . . . we . . . do
. . . constitute and appoint . . . Colonel of a regiment of
foot forming part of the corps known by name of the Irish Brigade,
and likewise to be Captain of a company in our said regiment. You
are therefore to take our said regiment as Colonel and the said
company as Captain . . .

And, in a long letter of instructions to the Comte de Serrant:—

. . . on the question of your titles as proprietary Colonel of one
of the regiments of the old Irish Brigade . . . the constitution
of this country does not admit of any such property . . .

I have now set before you all the circumstances . . . to
enable you to decide if you can accept His Majesty's gracious offer
. . . in the case of your accepting . . . if you have a mind
to leave His Majesty's service and to return to that of His Very
Christian Majesty, you will find the King disposed to grant you your
congé, and to consider this step with his accustomed goodness . . .

(Signed) Portland.

The Comte de Serrant quitted the English service in 1798 and returned to France, where Napoleon I. created him Count of the Empire, 2nd September, 1810. After Waterloo, K. Louis XVIII. promoted him Lieut.-General 'to date from 1st Janry 1793.' (Commission, Paris, 23rd October, 1816, signed Louis and Mal De Feltre.) He died 3rd February, 1817.

The death of the Comte de Clermont, G.M., 16th June, 1771, was followed by a thorough reconstruction of the Grande Loge de France which was very largely the work of the Military Lodges in the following Regiments:—Hainault, Vivarais, Dauphiné, Waldener, Fitz James, Lyonnais, Custine, and

Mézières, led by the St. Jean de Montmorency-Luxembourg in the first-named. A Military Lodge was certainly at work in 1772 in the Walsh Regiment, for in that year it made an application to the Grande Loge with the result that it was officially granted seniority from, and permission to date its 'constitution' at, March 25th, 1688, these decisions being confirmed by the Grand Orient in 1777. A similar petition from a Lodge at Dunkerque (which claimed to have existed in 1721) did not meet with quite the same success, for it was granted by the G.O. seniority only from 1756. Thus we see that these claims were not granted at random but after some enquiry into their validity, and the natural conclusion to draw is that the Walsh Regiment Lodge was able to produce *evidence* (which seemed *good* to the G.L. and G.O.) of its existence in 1688, but the Dunkerque Lodge could not point to any such evidence reaching back beyond 1756. The services of the Loge de St. Jean de Montmorency-Luxembourg in the Hainault Regiment in the reconstruction of the Grande Loge were rewarded by the appointment of ALL its members to seats *and votes* in Grande Loge (April 18th, 1772). With one or two exceptions they were all nobles, and, of course, all were officers. No less than 11 of the 17 Grand Officers were chosen from among them, including the Administrateur General (Pro-G.M.). The seniority and date of 'constitution' accorded to this illustrious Lodge was from 1762—the Vivarais 1759, and Dauphiné 1760. Now, remembering the fierce rivalry and jealousy which is a characteristic of the relations between different military units, the pride of patriotism in which Frenchmen have never been wanting at any time, and the haughty intolerance of the *noblesse* of the *ancien régime* for any but their own caste, is it conceivable that the members of the St. Jean de Montmorency-Luxembourg and the other two Lodges would have allowed a Lodge in a rival Regiment, and that not a French Regiment commanded by French Officers, but one composed of Irish refugees and commanded by Irishmen, to be put over their heads—especially as they were in a position to prevent it—unless the evidence was clear and irrefutable? In the discussion which followed my Paper in *A.Q.C.* xxxi. (p. 24), Bro. Songhurst said:—

It occurs to me as very unlikely that a Lodge connected with a Regiment kept such a record of its proceedings as would enable it to *prove* an existence for nearly one hundred years.

But I do not see that quite so much as this is implied, nor do I think that we should take the word 'constitution' involving all that our present-day usage of the expression no doubt is intended to convey. The real interest for us in the alleged Lodge in the Walsh Regiment is the fact—if it be a fact—that such a speculative Masonic Military Lodge EXISTED IN THE YEAR 1688, not its continuous activity from that date to 1772 and 1777. I think that what the G.L. and G.O. admitted was (a) that a certain military unit possessed a Masonic Lodge on March 25th, 1688; (b) that the Walsh Regiment of 1772 was the legitimate military representative of the unit of 1688; and that therefore (c) the Lodge in the Walsh Regiment in 1772 was the legitimate representative of the Lodge in 1688. Continuous Masonic activity between the two dates would of course increase the interest attaching to the Lodge, but is not an essential feature in the tradition.

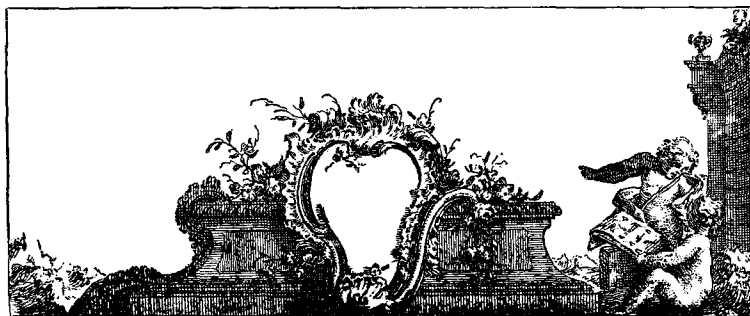
Assuming that the Lodge did exist in 1688, what was the unit in which it was at work at that date? It may have been either:

- (a) The Royal Irish raised in 1661;
- (b) The Life Guards of K. James II. absorbed into the above in 1693 (the W.M. says 1698?);
- (c) The Regiment of Clare which apparently was absorbed into the above in about 1766-1770;
- (d) Any other unit raised in or before 1688, and which was subsequently absorbed in the above.

Bro. R. F. Gould is quoted as the 'authority' for the statement that the Lodge of 1688 never existed. His only references to it, so far as I am aware, are:—

- (a) "It is scarcely necessary to refute this assumption" (*Hist.* iii., 157);
- (b) ". . . another fabulous genealogy, proving the existence of a Chapter . . . from . . . 1686! . . . apparently thought necessary to produce an earlier authority than the *alleged* Charter of the Walsh regiment of 1688, so as to make the Chapter . . . the first of its kind in France" (*ib.*, 160);
- (c) According to an (English) Army List of 1743, the earliest Irish regiment existing at that time in the French Service was only "formed" in 1690! (*ib.*, 408);
- (d) The first on the list, *Parfaite Égalité* " . . . The second . . . with hardly a doubt must be regarded as the older of the two . . . (*Mil. Lodges*, 1899, 201);

and these do not *prove* the negative—or anything.



SUMMER OUTING, 1925.

DORSET.

BY BRO. LIONEL VIBERT, P.M.



YEAR by year it becomes increasingly difficult to break fresh ground for our Summer Outing. Not that archæologically we have exhausted England, nor that Masonically we have visited all centres of light and interest; far from it. But the prosaic fact is that our programme nowadays has to be determined by a very material consideration. It is not every county town or cathedral city that can produce a hotel able and willing to take in seventy or more guests in July. And it is this difficulty that has for many years kept us away from Dorset, a part of the country richer than almost any other in prehistoric remains, and more than able to hold its own in regard to ecclesiastical and domestic architecture. But this year, thanks to the enthusiasm of the local Brethren, the long-wished-for visit was accomplished, Weymouth being our headquarters; although our party had to distribute itself between three hotels, the Royal, the Gloucester, and the Burdon, the last of which possesses that most necessary adjunct to our proceedings, a large hall for conversaciones and "At Homes."

A party of about sixty assembled at Paddington on Thursday, July 2nd, at noon, and went down by the 12.30 train, luncheon being served on board; and they were joined, either *en route* or at Weymouth itself, by the rest of the Brethren. The visiting Brethren were:—

Bros. F. J. Asbury, of London, L.R., P.Pr.G.D.C., Surrey; Wm. N. Bacon, of London, P.M. 15; G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, of London, P.M. 4141; Rodk. H. Baxter, of Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. 2076; J. Blackburn, of Birstall, 264; H. Bladon, of London, P.G.St.B.; F. J. M. Boniface, of London, J.W. 2694; Robt. Bridge, of Rochdale, P.Pr.G.D.; Walter H. Brown, of London, P.G.Stew.; J. M. Bruce, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.Pr.G.W.; Geo. W. Bullamore, of Much Hadham, 441; Guy M. Campbell, of London, L.R., P.Pr.G.D., Surrey; Sir John Cockburn, of Harrietsham, Kent, P.Dep.G.M., S. Australia; G. S. Collins, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Robt. Colsell, of Chingford, P.A.G.D.C.; R. F. J. Colsell, of Chingford, J.W. 12; Thos. M. Copland, of Falkirk, Pr.G.D., Stirlingshire; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, of Wisbech, P.M. 2283, J. W. 2076; Dr. A. J. Cross, of Dalton-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W.; P. Crosslé, of Dublin, 200 (I.C.); H. T. C. de Lafontaine, of London, P.G.D.; W. Dickinson, of Byfleet, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; R. A. Dickson, of London, P.Pr.G.D.C., Essex; E. H. Dring, of London, P.G.D., P.M. 2076; F. F. Ducker, of Norwich, W.M. 4569; Wm. S. Ellis, of Nottingham, P.Pr.A.G.Pt.; L. A. Engel, of London, L.R.; David Flather, of Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C.; Alfred Gates, of Sherborne, P.A.G.D.C.; J. F. H. Gilbard, of London, 56; F. W. Golby, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; C. G. Gurr, of Adelaide, P.M. 99 (S.A.); Arthur Heiron, of London, L.R.; John Holt, of Yarm-on-Tees, P.Pr.G.W., Durham; Percy H. Horley, of London, L.R.; F. Houghton, of London, 1500; J. R. H. Inkster, of London, S.W. 2694; B. R. James, of Pinner, 2823; J. Heron Lepper, of London, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, W.M. 2076; W. L. Mildren, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; H. E. Miller, of London, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Durham; Dr. John Murray, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W.; C. A. Newman, of Peterborough, 607; Wm. E.

Newman, of Melton Constable, P.Pr.G.S.B.; Dr. George Norman, of Bath, P.A.G.D.C., S.D. 2076; J. H. Parker, of Norwich, W.M. 1452; H. D. Parsons, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; W. F. Phillips, of Shenfield, 2860; E. Pickstone, of Radcliffe, 2930; Geo. Pocock, of London, P.M. 2730; A. Cecil Powell, of Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M. 2076; J. H. Pullen, of London, P.M. 410; S. W. Rodgers, of London, P.G.Stew.; J. G. Rowntree, of Sunderland, P.M. 3216; A. P. Salter, of London, P.M. 2932; W. Scott, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.M. 543; Thos. Selby, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; W. J. Songhurst, of London, P.G.D., Sec. 2076; J. W. Stevens, of London, P.A.G.Sup.W.; Dr. John Stokes, of Sheffield, P.G.D., S.W. 2076; Ed. Tappenden, of Hitchin, P.M. 901; J. E. S. Tuckett, of Bristol, P.A.G.S.B., P.M. 2076; Lionel Vibert, of Bath, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M. 2076; E. H. Watts, of Sidecup, 683; Dr. Chas. Wells, of Maidenhead, P.G.D.; J. C. Whettam, of Chatham, P.M. 4193; G. C. Williams, of London, P.M. 25; W. J. Williams, of London, S.D. 2696; W. Wonnacott, of London, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M. 2076; Dr. A. E. Wynter, of Bristol, 1139; and W. Young, of London, P.M. 1037.

At Weymouth we were met by Wor.Bro. Col. G. P. Symes, Dep.Prov.G.M., of Dorset, and many of the local Brethren, and after settling in at our hotels most of us proceeded to board one of Messrs. Cosens & Co.'s steamers for a trip along the coast. Some, it is true, preferred the security of the Esplanade, but those who did venture on, not the deep perhaps, for we only just crossed the five fathom line, but Weymouth Bay at all events, had a delightful cruise to Lulworth Cove with a view of Portland in the distance, and for a short time quite an interesting sample of a Channel fog.

After dinner we went to the Masonic Hall and inspected the treasures of the Hall itself, and the Library of All Souls' Lodge, where the local Brethren had most kindly supplemented their own very fine collection by a loan exhibition of china and glass brought in from all over the Province.

ALL SOULS' LODGE.

Wor.Bro. Col. Symes contributed a paper to the 1924-25 *Transactions* of the Dorset Masters Lodge, dealing with the first foundation of this Lodge in its present home, and it is from that paper that the first portion of this note is compiled with his permission. For the remaining history I am indebted to the late Bro. Z. Milledge's *Historic Notes of All Souls' Lodge*, 1896, to which Bro. Hugan contributed the Introduction.

The Lodge was originally constituted at Tiverton in 1767, with the number 408, and in 1798 it had the number 226. Lane's entry is: "Lapsed. Last Registry 16 March 1798"; and he shows the number twice, for the Lodge at Tiverton, and that at Weymouth (both All Souls' Lodge), but as 226 A, and 226 B, thus indicating that the Weymouth Lodge had, in his opinion, been given a lapsed number. It was in 1804 that it appeared at Weymouth, and in 1867 Grand Lodge allowed its claim to have worked continuously and granted a Centenary Warrant. But in 1909 the then Grand Secretary took the matter up, and coming to the conclusion that between 1798 and 1804 there had been a break of continuity, he directed the issue of a new Centenary Warrant dating back only to the forming of the Lodge at Weymouth. There at present the matter stands, but the Lodge has fortunately come into possession of an old Minute Book which fills in the desired information for the doubtful period, and has been supplemented by researches in the letter-books at Grand Lodge, with the following result. By 1796 the Lodge at Tiverton was in difficulties, and on 20th July, 1797, it was agreed that the meetings be suspended till a Lodge be called by the Master. In 1797 the Secret Societies Act was passed and while it remained in force in its original form, no new Lodge could be formed. In 1803 certain Brethren at Weymouth were desirous of forming a Lodge, and as the result of correspondence between themselves, the Grand Secretary and the Prov. G. Secretary of Devon, Bro. Beavis Wood, they were put in touch with the Brethren at Tiverton, who were quite willing to transfer their constitution

if it could be done. Bro. Beavis Wood, himself a member of the Lodge, soon hit on an expedient, to use his own phrase. He arranged to admit seven of the Weymouth Brethren to be members of All Souls' Lodge at Tiverton, and no sooner were they admitted than the Lodge made a formal application to be allowed to remove to the King's Head Inn at Weymouth. The transfer was duly effected and the document authorising it is still extant, and is reproduced in the *Historical Notes*. It recites that the Warrant was lost at the time of the fire and had not been recovered, but that the Lodge had been since "duly and regularly allowed and confirmed by us." It then goes on to say that twelve Brethren, all named, of whom Beavis Wood is one, being the Master, Wardens and Brethren of the said Lodge, have requested license to remove to the King's Head Inn in the town of Weymouth, to be there opened as soon as the Provincial Grand Master for that County may direct, and that the Provincial Grand Master authorises the removal, with the approbation of the Grand Lodge of England already given. The date of this document is Jan. 18, 1804. The last seven of the twelve names given are those of the Weymouth Brethren, and it seems fairly obvious that the Lodge was at the time still working effectively. The Minute Book recently recovered records cash sent up to Grand Lodge in 1800, and the late Bro. Wonnacott discovered in the Devon file at Grand Lodge evidence of a further remittance in February, 1803. The first Minute at Weymouth is dated 16th June, 1804, and just what had taken place in the six months that had elapsed since the transfer is not clear, but at all events, there were now no Tiverton Brethren left as members; the first Master at Weymouth was James Hamilton, whose name is the second of the seven from Weymouth as they are given in the sanction to transfer. A cushion and Bible presented to the Lodge in 1776, and a box, used to keep the Warrant in, of date 1778, are all in the way of property that was brought away from Tiverton. What became of the furniture and jewels there does not appear. The Lodge appears to have possessed no Warrant at all until the issue of the Warrant of Confirmation in 1866.

The earliest recorded Lodge in Dorset, which was constituted at Weymouth in 1736, had but a short existence. A Lodge at Lyme Regis, founded in 1764, also lived but a few years, but Lodge Amity, warranted at Poole in 1765, is still with us. Dunckerley was 'Superintendent' in the County in 1777, and by 1783 the office of Provincial Grand Master of Dorset had been formally created and conferred on him, but at the time he only had two Lodges, Amity just mentioned and a Lodge at Dorchester, no longer in existence. All Souls is the second oldest Lodge in the County to-day, even if its date is taken to be 1804. The Chapter was warranted in 1807. The Antients warranted a Lodge at Weymouth in 1776, which was erased in 1785, and it would seem that the Brethren who secured the All Souls warrant had originally been members of this Lodge, and the first Master at Weymouth had purchased the furniture and jewels of the Antient Lodge at the time of its demise.

A distinguished member of the Lodge was R.W. Bro. W. Williams, Prov.G.M. of Dorset from 1812, and Editor of the first *Book of Constitutions* of the United Grand Lodge. He was W.M. in 1813 and 1814. The Lodge still possesses a manuscript ritual, the work of W.Bro. Arden, W.M. in 1818, who was associated with Bro. Williams in teaching the ritual as it had been recently settled by the Lodge of Reconciliation. But of late years, in order to conform to London standards, this valuable contemporary record, which was not in accordance with them, has been laid aside. The Lodge possesses a valuable oil painting of Bro. Williams in Masonic clothing, one interesting feature being that his gloves are attached to the gauntlets, forming one article of dress.

The Minutes from 1804 are all still extant, and the present building was commenced in 1815 and consecrated in May, 1816; it was rearranged in 1888 when the Master's Chair and Dais were transferred to the true East end of the Lodge room. The Tracing Boards are figured at *A.Q.C.* xxix., 296, Nos. 62,

63, 64, and Bro. Dring describes them as a distinctive local type. On the reverse are two drawings of the camp of French Prisoners which stood at Weymouth at the time the Boards were painted. The third Board is dated 1809, in which year it was presented by Bro. J. Herbert Browne. The name of the artist was G. Robins.

The Lodge also possesses an old Chair, of sixteenth century workmanship, which at one time belonged to Lodge Arimathea, consecrated 1808. But when the Lodge was erased in 1828 the Chair was taken to the Town Hall, where it remained until 1895, quite neglected. In that year, however, it was formally restored to the Craft and the Brethren of All Souls' by the Corporation, with much ceremony, and it is now in the Banqueting Room.

The foundation stones for the pedestal of the statue of George III., the New Bridge, and the Guildhall were all laid during the century with Masonic honours in ceremonies in which All Souls' took a prominent part, the silver trowels used being preserved in the Lodge, and its history in other respects followed the usual course. But its finances were subject, perhaps, to something more than the usual vicissitudes. In 1838 the Brethren undertook, for the sum of £200, to pay an annuity of £16 to a certain Miss Anthony, whose health was understood to be precarious in the extreme. They continued to pay that annuity till 1867; the Minute that records the receipt of the news of the good lady's death in that year is one from which the note of grief is absent.

The R.A. Chapter, which is also the second oldest in the Province, was founded in 1807, with a Warrant of Confirmation of 1821. In connection with the Templar and Rose Croix, a charity is maintained which has been in existence since the seventies of last century, in accordance with the terms of which, every year on Ascension Day, twenty old persons are given tea and an entertainment, and presented with half-a-crown, a loaf, sugar and tea. Annuitants too infirm to attend are sent their share. The average age of those present last year was 79 years.

At the Masonic Hall we were shown the sixteen Chippendale Chairs and other furniture, all presented at various times by members of the Lodge. The Library possesses an eighteenth century Pocket Book: "Printed for Bro. Thompson in the Strand mdccclxiv.," which appears to be the only copy known. The Lodge has some interesting Sunderland and other Masonic china, and glass as well, and for our benefit the Watts Collection, which was purchased for £550 by the Province after the death of Sir William Watts, was also on view, having been specially brought in to Weymouth for the occasion.

The civic authorities also very kindly exhibited in their Council Chamber their valuable collection of Charters—going back to 1252 A.D.—records and seals, many of which had not for years been taken out of the strong room, a courtesy which the Brethren greatly appreciated.

On the Friday morning we made an early start and proceeded in charabancs to Maiden Castle, where Bro. Prideaux, of Dorchester, took us up, through the ramparts at the west end, and explained the whole work to us. The Brethren soon realized that they were listening to a first-class expert, a man of facts rather than theories.

MAIDEN CASTLE

(*vide Proceedings* of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, vol. xiv., 1893; and *Roman and Prehistoric Sites near Dorchester*, by the Curator of the Museum, Capt. Acland).

Maiden Castle—Celtic Mai-Dun, Great Fortress—the finest example of a British earthwork to be found in England, is properly described as stupendous. It is an irregular oval, enclosing an area of 44 acres, the greatest length of

the enclosure being 2,400 feet and the greatest width about 750, while the ramparts are still in places 90 feet high and their height generally is over 60. The whole work covers an area of 115 acres. The ramparts are treble on the north side and quadruple on the south. The entrances at the east and west ends are still further complicated by additional works involving six or seven ramparts and ditches, but at the west end the original structure has been much damaged by having agricultural roads driven through it in later times. The work is traversed by a low breastwork running from north to south somewhat to the east of the central axis, and the way in which the ramparts come in to meet this work from the eastward suggest that it marks an original termination, the work being extended westward to its present dimensions at some later date, but still in pre-Roman times.

Its very size as well as its form indicate that it is not, as was at one time supposed, a Roman work. But it was occupied by the Romans; there is evidence of an altar to Mars, and of a well which may have been sunk in Roman times. There was also a Roman villa, of which considerable vestiges, pavements and so on, were recovered and are now in the Museum at Dorchester. It was possibly used as a summer camp by the troops. Excavations many years ago revealed a series of pits, 4 to 8 feet deep, which are generally considered to have been British granaries. A mass of conglomerate stone on the southern side used to be described as a cave and was taken to be the remains of a British covered way leading down to the stream in the valley. It seems, however, to be a purely natural formation, and the question how the British managed with regard to water remains undecided.

Beyond this there is little to be said of this wonderful work; its early history, still less its origin, are unknown, and there we must leave the matter.

From Maiden Castle we went on to Maumbury Rings, on the outskirts of Dorchester itself, where Bro. Prideaux has for years conducted extensive excavations, and once more we had the benefit of his expert study of the work.

MAUMBURY RINGS

(*vide Proceedings ut sup.*, vol. xxxv., 1913).

Maumbury Rings has usually been spoken of as a Roman amphitheatre, but while the Romans did so use it, and, in fact, altered it to make an amphitheatre of it, the original structure is pre-Roman and indeed prehistoric. Excavations were conducted from 1908 to 1913 by Mr. St. George Gray, with the assistance of Bro. C. S. Prideaux and others, and they succeeded in recovering the original form. The general line of the crest of the Great Bank, the original structure, is a circle with a diameter of about 276 feet, and with an opening facing slightly N. of N.E. Within this there was an immense circular trench, about 170 feet in diameter, and 40 feet wide at the top, and in this trench, itself 16 feet deep, a series of shafts going down another 10 feet or so. All this is neolithic work; numbers of antler picks and other neolithic objects were recovered during the excavations. The exact purpose of the shafts, or indeed of the whole structure when originally built, has still to be determined.

The Romans filled in these shafts when they turned the place into an amphitheatre, which they did by digging out an oval area to the depth of nearly 10 feet, to make their arena floor, this being surrounded by a double ditch and palisade. Owing to the limitations imposed by the original structure the Roman oval is much more nearly circular than these arenas usually are. During the Parliamentary Wars the place was occupied by troops who cut it about still further. They built a terrace on the Bank and sunk a well, or began to do so; it is found to stop at a depth of 27 feet, before reaching water. They also trenched the approaches. At a still later date the public gallows stood here, while until late in the last century the central area was cultivated.

The Amphitheatre was of special interest to us because it had formed the subject of one of the first archæological essays ever read to a Lodge, the only one of the period that has survived. It was in October, 1723, that Dr. Stukeley read to the Lodge at the Fountain in the Strand his essay "Of the Roman Amphitheater at Dorchester," which he subsequently printed, but only four copies of the work have survived. For our visit Bro. Dring brought out a *facsimile* reproduction of the essay. The worthy Doctor's theories do him much credit, and if they do not now command our acceptance, it is only fair to remember that he wrote in days before archæology had been scientifically studied.

DORCHESTER.

Roman Durnovaria was the point at which the Roman road from London through Silchester and Sarum branched, one arm going N.W. to Ilchester and the lead mines, the other going on to Exeter and the Roman seaport at what is now Seaton. There was also a road to what is now Weymouth Harbour. There was an earlier settlement, now, perhaps, represented by Poundbury Rings on the hill to the west. But the town itself is Roman in its lay-out, with its four main streets to the cardinal points, and the Romans made of it a walled city. The gates have gone, but fragments of the wall are still to be found, and its site is marked to-day by a line of avenues. The town preserved its importance through Saxon and Norman times; the grammar school was founded in 1569. At a later date it was strong for the Parliament; and it was here that Judge Jefferies opened his Bloody Assize in 1685. The house in the West Street where he lodged is still standing.

The County Museum has, as is only natural, an unusually fine collection of prehistoric and Roman remains, including the finds made during the excavations at Maumbury, all most scientifically arranged and described. The geology of the district is also of considerable interest, and this section of the Museum is accordingly of particular importance, and the same is to be said of the natural history department. The various treasures were explained to us by the Curator, Capt. J. Acland, F.S.A., and other members of the Museum Council, who very kindly came down specially for the occasion.

St. Peter's Church stands alongside the Museum. It is a handsome structure of Perpendicular work. The south porch is Norman Transitional and was apparently preserved from an earlier edifice and rebuilt stone by stone where it now stands. Two small stones missing in the moulding were in recent years identified in the west wall of the south aisle and were restored to their rightful situation. (Metcalf, *Guide to St. Peter's Church*.) In the porch itself is the tomb of the Rev. John White, who in 1624 despatched to America that company of Dorset men who founded Massachusetts. He procured their charter and sent them out their first governor, John Endicott, also a Dorset man. The interior is chiefly remarkable for a Jacobean pulpit, an Easter sepulchre brought from some earlier building, and the tomb of Denzil Holles, one of the Five Members in the days of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. It is an elaborate piece of sculpture with an inscription in Latin and English of prodigious length. The figure of Holles himself is recumbent but slightly raised, and he is garbed in a Roman toga and sandals and a full-bottomed wig. The Rev. G. C. Niven, B.D., very kindly acted as our guide and showed us the many features of interest in the church.

After lunch at the Station Hotel we resumed our travels, leaving the town by the line of the Roman road. We passed through Hardy country and many interesting villages, coming eventually to Puddletown, the Weatherbury of the Wessex novels, where, had there only been time, we would willingly have stopped to visit the church with its panelled ceiling of Spanish chestnut, and the Athelhampton aisle. But we had perforce to neglect it all until we

came to Athelhampton Hall, the seat of G. Cochran, Esq., who had very kindly given permission for us to go over the house and grounds. Here we were met by the Rev. Mr. Wellington, and Bro. H. Cart de Lafontaine described the house and gave us its history in the regretted absence of Mr. A. de Lafontaine, the former owner, who was unable to be present.

ATHELHAMPTON HALL

(*Transactions ut sup.*, xx., 1899).

The name is connected with a Saxon "duke" who lost his life fighting the invading Danes at Portland in 837. The manor itself was in the time of Richard II. in the possession of the families of de Londres and de Pydele, whose arms are to be seen in the Great Hall. It then came by descent to the family of Martin who built the original portions of the present Hall, and held it until the time of Elizabeth. After various other changes it at last, fortunately, came into the hands of owners who were able to appreciate its charm. During the nineteenth century the buildings were lamentably damaged, a chapel, a gatehouse, and buildings round three if not four quadrangles being pulled down. The only parts of the original structure still standing are the west and south sides of the innermost quadrangle and the Culver or pigeon-house. But the Hall has been sympathetically and carefully reconstructed; a new gatehouse, in keeping with it, has been built; and the gardens, laid out in the old manner with terraces, ponds and running water, are such as Evelyn or Bacon would have delighted in.

The Entrance Hall preserves the original open roof and an oriel window. There is still some of the original fifteenth century glass in other windows, and where it was missing it has been possible to put in reproductions of all the original coats of arms which they at one time contained. An oak door is still preserved, and there is also a secret passage leading down from the long gallery. The pigeon-house is remarkable as still containing the original internal revolving ladder, which must be almost unique in its way.

Resuming our journey, we next passed through Bere Regis, the Kingsbere of *Tess*—the few stones that are all that remains of the manor of the Tubervilles are in a field near the church—and we eventually came through the valley of the Stour to Wimborne Minster, where we were met by Bro. the Rev. A. D. H. Allan, Headmaster of the Grammar School, W.Bros. W. J. Stanton and C. H. W. Parkinson, and the Secretary of Lodge St. Cuthberga No. 622 (Bro. S. C. Ryley).

WIMBORNE MINSTER.

The first religious house here was founded in the eighth century by Cudburh, sister of Ine, King of the West Saxons, who was afterwards canonised as St. Cuthberga, but no traces of it remain to-day. In 871 Aethelred, the king who preceded Alfred, was buried here, but once more there is nothing preserved except a slab of marble and a brass of much later date. Domesday Book tells us of a collegiate church and a royal free chapel: the record of deans begins in 1224. The foundation was dissolved in 1547. The church then became a "Royal Peculiar," with three priest vicars elected by the Corporation, who each served for a month in turn. These were replaced by a sole vicar in 1876. The present Minster replaces a Norman church, the extent of which can be pretty accurately determined. There are still preserved of Norman work the arches and lower stages of a central tower, traces of windows in choir and transept walls, a stringcourse in the south transept, and windows of the original clerestory now below those put in in the fifteenth century. During the

nineteenth century restorations foundations were disclosed which showed the position of the original aspidal choir.

The East Window is an interesting specimen of Transitional from E.E. to Decorated. The rest of the building is thirteenth and fourteenth century; the western tower was put up 1448-1464, at which time the nave was altered and the roof raised. The central tower was originally crowned by a steeple, which fell in 1600; it was replaced by the present somewhat incongruous and heavy battlement and pinnacles. In the nineteenth century the nave and choir were restored and the interior re-arranged in a well-meaning endeavour to reproduce the fourteenth century conditions. Still further restoration was undertaken in 1891, when the N. transept was provided with a window in Decorated style that is unlike any other in the structure.

Outside a window on the north face of the western tower is a figure in what appears to be a military uniform of the early nineteenth century, who strikes the quarters and is known locally as the Jackman. The interior is chiefly remarkable for the carving of the nave arcade, the sedilia (much restored), and several interesting tombs and brasses. The Beaufort tomb is a fine fifteenth century monument with two alabaster figures. Next to a similar tomb on the opposite side is the slab of Purbeck marble which tradition has associated with the grave of Aethelred. There is inserted in it a fifteenth century brass with an inscription to that effect; the actual plate bearing the inscription to-day is itself, however, only a replica, the original being now in the Library. In the South Choir is the Etricke tomb which enjoys much local renown, being built in the thickness of the wall, so as to be neither inside the church nor outside, neither above ground nor under, this being in accordance with the wishes of the occupier, who got the tomb ready in his own lifetime and put on it the date 1691. But he lived till 1703, and the date has accordingly been altered in a rather clumsy fashion. There is also a deed chest of unknown age, a solid piece of oak, fitted originally with six locks.

Above the vestry is the Library, where the books are still chained, with their backs to the wall, so as to allow of their being consulted as they stand. The fourteenth century clock, made by Peter Lightfoot, of Glastonbury, which shows the sun and moon revolving round the earth, is still in good working order.

After visiting the Minster we were very kindly entertained to tea by the local Brethren, the arrangements having been made by W.Bro. G. Hapgood, and we then returned to Weymouth. At Athelhampton, unfortunately it began to rain, and for the rest of the day we were forced to have the hoods up, so that the country was lost to us. This was particularly unfortunate on the homeward journey, which took us through some of the wildest part of Dorset, over Moreton Heath, the Egdon Heath of *The Return of the Native*, from which we should have had distant views of the open country by Corfe and the cliffs above Swanage, and would have been better able to appreciate the really wonderful descent into Weymouth Bay. But this was the only drawback to a day of singular interest.

In the evening the local Brethren were our hosts in the Burdon Hall, and for our entertainment they had reinforced the local talent by a vocal quartette from Sherborne, thanks to whose musical skill we passed a most delightful evening. We also were enabled to inspect a most treasured Masonic relic, the Lodge of Amity Biscuit, from Poole, which is referred to as follows in the Minutes of a Lodge of Emergency held on December 29th, 1813:—

“ At the Meeting Bro. Stephen Jack was present and presented the Biscuit to the Lodge, which was received with great applause by all the Brethren present. It was decided that the Biscuit be varnished, framed, and hung up in the Lodge with the following Inscription on it as a lasting memorial of our highly esteemed and humane

Brother Captain Jacques de Bon for his praiseworthy attention to all and every one of our Brethren who had been captured by him."

The actual inscription on the Biscuit runs:—

THIS BISCUIT

is preserved by the Lodge of Amity as a memorial of their gratitude and brotherly affection for Jacques de Bon, Captain of the "Janon" French Privateer of St. Malo who captured at sea on the 13th December at Ham 1813 in Lat. 49.50 North, Long. 7 west, The Brig "Oak" of Poole, Brother Stephen Jack master, belonging to Brothers G. W. Ledgard and John Goss on her passage from Bilbao to Poole, who after treating him and his crew with every mark of kindness, restored him his vessel, and sent on board a Dog which before had been taken from a Brother with this Biscuit suspended by a string round his neck signifying he would not keep a Brother's Dog in bondage, nor see him want bread. Thus the man who holds forth his hand for the relief of his necessitous brethren is fully repaid by the gratitude of those whom he obliges, by the approbation of his own mind, and the favor of that Omnipotent Being who cannot behold such a bright display of Masonic Virtues without asserting his divine and everlasting approbation.

On the Saturday the cars once more took us along the Dorchester road, and passing through Dorchester itself we made our way by a picturesque valley to Cerne Abbas, getting a glimpse on the way of Wolfeton House, a fine Tudor mansion with a Norman gate-house.

CERNE ABBAS

(*vide Proceedings ut sup.*, vol. xxii., 1901; also *Highways and Byways in Dorset*).

The name Cerne is a river name which is found elsewhere, and fanciful derivations for it that are occasionally met with are of no validity. The Abbey was founded by Aethelmar, Earl of Devon and Cornwall, in 987. The most notable event in its history was when it sheltered Margaret, Queen of Henry VI., and her son. When, after Towton, Warwick turned against Edward IV., Margaret came from France with her son and landed at Weymouth. But the battle of Barnet, in which Warwick was killed, altered all her fortunes, and for a time she sought sanctuary at Cerne Abbey. Eventually she collected her forces and marched towards Wales, to be finally defeated at Tewkesbury, where her son was murdered, the dethroned Henry perishing in the Tower shortly afterwards. At the Reformation the Abbey was abolished and left to go to ruins, and to-day there remain only the noble Gatehouse, which has been partly restored, and a fifteenth century building that may have been a guest house, with a delightful oriel window and a stone roof.

In the fields outside the abbey site is a spring known as St. Austin's Well, reputed to possess curative properties. In the village is still standing the tithe barn of early fourteenth century, which has preserved its original roof, though that is now hidden by a ceiling. The barn is in two divisions, which indicates that it was both a tithe barn and a crop barn.

The church is late Perpendicular, with an ornate west front. It has a Carolean pulpit with a sounding board, on which are carved the rose, shamrock and thistle. The east window has clearly at one time belonged to a larger building and has been shortened to get it into its present position; the tradition is that it came from the Abbey.

The archæological interest of Cerne Abbas, however, centres in its Giant, a colossal figure cut in the side of a hill above the village. He is 180 feet in

height, and the club he wields is 120 feet long. As to his date, Professor Boyd Dawkins could only suggest that it was of the Bronze Age. The district was one that in this Age was very thickly populated. From Maiden Castle one can still see an endless succession of barrows along the ridge running east and west, and all the country around Dorchester contains them, literally in hundreds. But with few exceptions they are all Round Barrows, that is to say, barrows of the Bronze Age. Figures of this peculiar type were known in that Age, and have been found in Scandinavia ranging down to the early Iron Age. This particular figure is of very remote antiquity, and no more precise statement can be hazarded. It is associated in a very special manner with a maypole, which was fixed in an enclosure of its own on top of the hill above the Giant. The enclosure is what is known as a rhomboidal camp, and these have been shown by excavations elsewhere to be of the Bronze Age. The rites generally associated with the maypole are usually taken to be of later date, but in this case there certainly seems to have been a direct continuation of some ceremony of Bronze Age. In the village itself are two sites which would in the usual course have been considered admirably suited to a maypole, but the villagers have from time immemorial adhered to this far less convenient situation on the top of a steep hill. The maypole was taken down by the Puritans, but under Charles II. it was promptly set up again, still on the ancient site.

At some unascertained date signs were cut in the chalk alongside the figure, which consist of a J, a sign which may be H or the astronomical sign for Saturn, and a doubtful D. The explanation that has been suggested for them is that they stand for Jehovah Saturnam Destruxit, and were the nearest the monks dare go towards destroying the actual Giant himself, who, with the pagan rites associated with him, would naturally be most repugnant to them. The figure is manifestly the representation of a creative divinity, and, indeed, we were told that the villagers to-day still attach virtue to him, and preserve dim recollections of pagan practices.

We had a fine view of the Giant on our way out of the village, and arrived at Sherborne at one o'clock, being welcomed by Wor.Bro. Gates, P.A.G.D.C., and the local Brethren.

Lunch having been disposed of, we proceeded to inspect the Almshouse, Abbey, School, and Castle Ruins, returning to tea in the Church Hall, which had also very kindly been put at our disposal for lunch as the Half-Moon Hotel was not able to accommodate so large a party. At tea we were the guests of W.Bro. Gates.

SHERBORNE.

Ina, king of the West Saxons, created the see of Sherborne, the first bishop being St. Aldhelm of Malmesbury, whose church was on the site now occupied by the Abbey. It remained a cathedral until the see was removed to Sarum in 1075. The School appears to have been founded at the same time, and, according to local tradition, Alfred was a pupil here. There was also a house of secular canons who were replaced by Benedictines in 998. The Abbey was built by Roger of Caen in 1172, and his fine South Porch still remains, but during the nineteenth century restorations it was taken down and rebuilt, stone by stone, the pitch of the roof being altered. Much Norman work can still be seen elsewhere in the church. In a prolongation of the west wall there is some masonry and a blocked-up doorway of pre-Norman date which may be a fragment of St. Aldhelm's Church. The monks never quite hit it off with the townspeople, and in the course of a dispute in 1436 the Abbey was burnt down at a time when it was in process of re-building and had a temporary thatched roof. It was thereupon given its present roof with its exceptionally fine fan tracery. But in 1559 the foundation was dissolved, and

the townsfolk bought the buildings and converted the Abbey into a parish church, pulling down what had previously been their church, the Church of All Hallows, as it was called, abutting on the west of the Abbey. Traces of it are still to be seen. The rest of the monastic buildings were made over to the school, which was refounded by Edward VI. in 1550, and many are still remaining, in particular the old Great Hall, now the Library, and the Abbot's Hall, now the School Chapel. The Lady Chapel of the Abbey was converted into the Head Master's House, and so continued till 1860.

From 1848 to 1859 Mr. G. W. Digby, the Lord of the Manor, was restoring the fabric, and in 1860 he bought the Head Master's House, with the intention of restoring it as a Lady Chapel. But he died, and vacant possession was not obtained till 1921. Since then the work of restoration has been in constant progress as funds have been available. It will not be possible to restore the whole extent of the original Chapel, owing to other buildings which may not be obstructed. But one bay, with the east end, in which there is to be a central recess, is in process of construction, and all old material is, as far as possible, preserved in its proper position.

During the nineteenth century restorations an old stone coffin was found in the ambulatory, between the Lady Chapel and the Choir, and just previous to our visit the workmen had discovered a second tomb under the pavement a little further east. It is eminently likely that these are the tombs of Ethelbald and Ethelbert, kings of the West Saxons, and predecessors of Alfred, who were buried in Aldhelm's cathedral. Leland records that they were interred in a place behind the high altar, of which there was in his time no trace. (*Official Guide to Sherborne Abbey Church*, p. 51.)

The present organ was built originally for the Great Exhibition of 1851, from which it was purchased for the Abbey. Curfew is still rung at Sherborne, the Abbey possessing a peal of eight bells. Six of these were originally in All Hallows, but they have been re-cast more than once: they are first mentioned in 1514, and one is stated to have been the gift of Cardinal Wolsey.

The Almshouse was founded in 1437, and consists of a group of old buildings round a quadrangle, with cloisters on two sides. In the chapel is a remarkable Flemish altar piece, of uncertain attribution. The School lies immediately behind the Abbey, and some of its buildings are in actual contact with it. We were able to see something of the Library and Museum, as well as the Chapel.

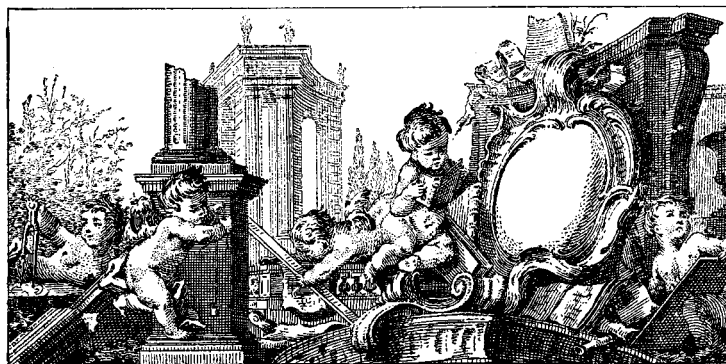
The old Castle was on a hill on the opposite side of the valley. Little of it remains now except the Gatehouse and fragments of walls standing in an extensive park. It was built in the twelfth century, and eventually became the property of Sir Walter Raleigh. We duly inspected the seat where he is supposed to have been smoking when a faithful serving man, thinking his master on fire, drenched him with water. The Castle figured in the Civil War, and was "slighted," i.e., blown up, by the Parliamentarians. The New Castle, begun by Sir Walter Raleigh, is now the residence of Major Wingfield Digby.

We had intended to return to Dorchester by way of Batcombe Hill, but the road was blocked by a broken-down trolley, so we made our way home by Yeovil and Holywell. The view was very nearly as fine, and the descent into Maiden Newton was sufficient sensation for anybody; the cars seemed to be up on end. We accomplished it, however, without mishap.

The water supply to Roman Dorchester was brought by an aqueduct from a small stream in the hills lying south of Maiden Newton, an aqueduct about twelve miles long, or rather an open water channel contouring the hills. Much of it has long since been destroyed and levelled for cultivation, but its course can still be traced, and about three-quarters of a mile of it still exists practically in its original form. It is perhaps the only Roman aqueduct in the country. We were able to see something of it on the right as we came into Dorchester. We went straight on into Weymouth, and in the evening we were "At Home" to the local Brethren. The feature of the evening was a

lantern lecture by Bro. Philip Crosslé, of the Dublin Lodge of Research, on Irish Masonic Antiquities, which he was able to illustrate by a series of most interesting slides. Subsequently the W.M. proposed a very hearty Vote of Thanks to Col. Symes, Bro. Prideaux, and all the local Brethren for all they had done for us during our visit.

On the Sunday morning we attended service at Holy Trinity Church, and afterwards took the opportunity to inspect one of the new steamers recently built by the G.W.R. for the Channel Islands traffic. Our train left Weymouth at 3.10. But the men of Dorset do not willingly quit their native county, and the G.W.R.—on Sundays, at all events—are careful to show their sympathy with local sentiment. Nothing could have been more long drawn out than our final progress through the Dorset and Somerset valleys past Yeovil and Frome. Once in Wiltshire our methods altered. At Westbury we were to join a Cornish express, proposing to dine on the way to Town in a train that was to give us both speed and creature comforts. We did join an express, which went out of action somewhere Newbury way. Prior to that we had discovered that it did not contain our dinner, and could only “do its best” for seventy hungry travellers. When, later on, a second express passed us—as we reposed in a siding awaiting another engine—an express to which a resplendent restaurant car was attached, we realized that that was our dinner on its way to Town. Subsequently we ascertained that it arrived at Paddington intact. We also arrived at Paddington—in time. But these final contretemps, after all, were only the set-off to what it was on all hands agreed was a charming and successful Outing, providing entertainment archæological, Masonic, and social for all concerned.



NOTES AND QUERIES.



REEMASONRY IN FICTION. CAPTAIN MARRYAT.—In *A.Q.C.* xxxiii., p. 185, is a note by me referring to Captain Marryat's "Newton Forster" and stating that "it would almost seem that Marryat must have been a Mason."

The surmise was correct. In *Life and Letters of Captain Frederick Marryat*, by Florence Marryat, his daughter, (Bentley, 1872, vol. i., p. 159) this appears:—

"Captain Marryat was a Freemason, and belonged to the Lodge of Antiquity, of which H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex was chief."

At p. 153 it is said that Marryat frequently dined at Sussex House with the Royal Duke.

In other pages we are told that Marryat was appointed equerry to the Duke of Sussex: that in 1819 he was elected F.R.S. Also that he received the Humane Society's Gold Medal and was made C.B.

In Marryat's "Percival Keene," chapter xvi., is an entertaining account of a practical joke played upon a young naval officer who was entrusted with certain bogus Masonic signs which he used with lamentable effect in approaching an irate superior officer.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

Freemasons' Wills (1605 to 1619).—The following wills are recorded as proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The years in which they were proved are stated, together with the references to the books in which they are registered:—

Ackroyd, John. Freemason. Halifax, Yorks. 1614. 42 Lawe.

Bate (Baite), Alexander. Freemason. Corbies, Lincs. 1609. 5 Dorset.

Bentley, John. Freemason. University of Oxford. 1616. 18 Cope.

Bentley, Michael. Freemason. University of Oxford. 1619. 86 Parker.

Dallowe, George. Freemason. Comley, Cardington, Salop. 1611. 10 Wood.

Dallowe, John. Freemason. Comley, Cardington, Salop. 1617. 60 Weldon.

Felles (Fells), Thomas. Freemason. East Greenwich, Kent. 1609. 33 Dorset.

Goodlad, Arthur. Freemason. Reading, Berks. 1611. 48 Wood.

Horsley, Matthew. Freemason. Acton Piggott, Salop. 1619. 67 Parker.

Millner (Myldener), Hugh. Citizen and Freemason of London. [Probate Act Book. St. Giles without Cripplegate.] 1605. 82 Hayes.

Oliver, William. Citizen and Freemason of London. [Probate Act Book. St. Helen, Bishopsgate.] 1613. 99 Capell.

The above are extracted from Vol. 5 of the Index published by the British Record Society Limited. The same volume also includes references to the wills

of the following seven described as *Masons*, viz.:—*Cooke*, Nicholas; *Clarke*, Richard; *Dawston*, John; *Love*, John the Younger; *Markes*, John; *Martine*, Thomas; and *Truman*, Thomas; also to *Cooke*, Nicholas, of Winterbourne, Gloucs., described as Rowmason (=Rough Mason), 1619. 32 Parker.

Freemasons' Wills (1620 to 1629).—Extracted from Vol. 6 of the Index of the British Record Society Limited, as above:—

Coleman, James. Citizen and Freemason of London (died beyond the Seas). 1629. 40 Ridley.

Osborne, Anthony. Freemason. Corsham, Wilts. 1620. 20 Soame.

Perkins, Henry. Citizen and Freemason of St. Sepulchre's without Newgate, London. [Nuncupative.] 1627. 48 Skynner.

Richardson, Benjamin. Citizen and Freemason. St. Michael's Bassishaw, London. 1624. 74 Byrde.

Stickells, Robert. Citizen and Freemason of London. St. Olave's, Southwark, Surrey. 1620. 63 Soame.

[*Taylor* (Tayler), Katherin. *Widdowe* of Samuel Taylor freemason decd. London. 1625. 112 Clarke.]

Yarington, Giles, singleman. Freemason. St. Martin in the Fields, Middx., died beyond the seas. 1628. 25 Barrington.

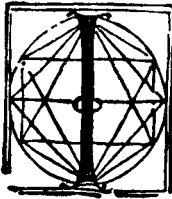
The same volume 6 refers to the Wills of Two Masons, *Dyne*, John, and *Miller* (alias Mason) Thomas, as well as to one "ruffe" mason *Pearson*, William, of St. Ives, Huntingdon. (1620. 101 Soame.)

Note.—The Wills of the Canterbury Court are indexed in a continuous series from 1383 to 1656. Those from 1630 to 1653 compiled by Messrs. Matthews, and the others published by the British Record Society Limited. The occupations of the Testators are, however, only classified for the periods 1605 to 1629 and 1653 to 1656. Doubtless the occupation "Freemason" occurs in the other periods, but as matters stand it would need the perusal of ten closely printed volumes to pick out the instances of such use.

May, 1927.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Orlando Wesley Aldrich, LL.D., Ph.D., D.C.L., of Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A., in 1925. Bro. Aldrich was a P.M. of Lodge No. 4, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1911.

William Henry Barrell, of Portsmouth, in January, 1922. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was P.Z. of Harmony Chapter No. 309. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

Richard George Bevington, of Johannesburg, on 23rd July, 1915. Bro. Bevington had held office as Sub.Dis.G.M. (S.C.), and was a member of the Golden Thistle Royal Arch Chapter No. 245 (S.C.). He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1892.

John Bilbie, M.I.Mech.E., of London, on 13th May, 1925. Our Brother was P.M. of Albion Lodge No. 9, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1911.

W. P. M. Black, of Glasgow, in 1923. Bro. Black had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was P.J. of Chapter No. 296. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1905.

William Macadam Bonar, of Herberton, N. Queensland, on 7th June, 1923. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1895.

Alexander Bruce, of Glasgow, on 30th April, 1925. Bro. Bruce had held the office of Grand Bard and Grand Principal in the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter of Scotland, and was Dep.Pr.G.M. in Glasgow. He became a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1894.

Joseph Adam Clarke, of Argyll, in 1925. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 335, and P.Z. of Chapter No. 496. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Charles Coles, J.P., of Port Elizabeth, in 1925. Bro. Coles was J.W. of Algoa Lodge No. 2886, and a member of the Port Elizabeth Chapter No. 711. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1909.

Reginald H. Cooper, of Palatka, Florida, on 4th May, 1925. Bro. Cooper had held office as Grand Master, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

Robert Dickson, of Stockholm, on 14th April, 1924. Our Brother held the office of Grand Secretary, and was one of the early members of our Correspondence Circle, having joined in September, 1887.

Thomas Benjamin Davis Fowler, of Bristol, in February, 1925. Bro. Fowler held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., in the Argentine Republic, and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1890.

William Henderson, of Glasgow, on 27th April, 1925. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 510, and P.Z. of Chapter No. 296. He became a member of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1906.

Abraham Jacobs, of Hawaii, on the 19th April, 1925. Bro. Jacobs was a member of the Fiji Lodge No. 1931, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1914.

Rev. **Ernest Oswald Jervis**, of Bangalore, in 1925. Our Brother held the office of Dis.G.Ch., in Madras, and was P.So. of the United Service Chapter No. 2735. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1921.

Major **Thomas Maccullum Nicholson**, of London, in 1925. Bro. Nicholson had attained the rank of P.Dis.A.G.D.C., in the Punjab, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1922.

M. Reepmaker, of Scheveningen, Holland, on 30th December, 1924. Our Brother was a member of Lodge Frederick Royal, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1905.

Frederick James Rover, of London, on 29th April, 1925. Bro. Rover had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1908.

William Arthur Smithson, of Hull, on 25th May, 1925. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.So. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

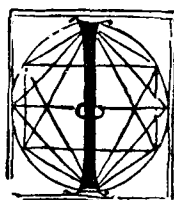
Henry Thomas Wood, of London, in 1925. Bro. Wood was a member of Valentia Lodge No. 3097, and joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912.

Lionel Wood, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on 4th June, 1925, at the age of 46 years. He was P.M. of Ridley Lodge No. 2260, and J. of the Chapter attached thereto. Bro. Wood became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1922.



THE KIRK WALL SCROLL.

BY BRO. W. R. DAY, F.I.A., P.M. of Nos. 57 & 290, & P.Dep.G.M.
(New South Wales).



THIS is a far cry from Sydney to Kirkwall, and Brethren in England may fairly wonder whether any new light could be shed upon this interesting Masonic relic from such a distance. There is very little likelihood of my seeing the original, and my investigations have been based on the reproduction which appeared in *A.Q.C.* x., 79. This was accompanied by a description by Bros. Craven and Speth, to which I and other Masonic students are much indebted. It is my intention to quote largely from this in order that my own contribution on the subject may be as complete as possible. The authors state:—

In regard to the Old Scroll now belonging to Kirkwall Kilwinning, the records of the Lodge throw no light upon its history. It . . . measures 18 feet 6 inches in length, and 5 feet 6 inches in width. The material of which it is composed is a strong linen, and consists of a full width of cloth in the centre with a divided width sewn along each side.

The measurements should be noted, together with the fact that a border has had to be joined on at each side.

It is very roughly painted in oil: the emblems down the centre being mainly in pale blue, but the top panel shows some attempt to imitate nature, the hills being brown, the sea green, the trees brown, the ground reddish, Eve and the animals and fishes pink. On each side of the centre strip runs a ribbon of three colours, blue, yellow, and green, the blue being inside. . . . The border on the spectator's left hand would seem to represent a map of the wanderings of the Hebrews until their settlement in Egypt. . . . The right hand border should apparently be read from the bottom to the top, and seems to pourtray the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert.

Here is an item of distinct importance, viz., the reading from top to bottom on the left side, and from bottom to top on the right, there being no connecting border at the bottom.

Both margins, especially the right hand one, are covered with place and city names, but Bro. R. Muir, who has kindly collated our drawing with the original for me, writes that "The names appear to be of more modern date than the scroll itself, and have not been all written at the same time even, the ink is different and fresher in certain instances, and some of the writing is plainly by a different hand."

The scale on which the reproduction was made is approximately 1 to 8, which is quite sufficient for general purposes. It necessitates, however, the use of a magnifying glass for the purpose of reading the cyphers. As an

accurate determination of the characters of one of the cyphers was necessary, and as enquiries from the Lodge failed to produce any reply, I had one portion of the reproduction enlarged by photography on a scale of 5.7 to 1. Unfortunately it failed to achieve the object I had in view.

It will probably be conceded that the central panels are of greater interest than the attached border, and that they were the chief objects of the designer. There are certainly seven distinct panels, but I think I am justified in raising the number to eight by dividing the largest into two parts by a line drawn across just below the two tents connected by the wavy line. The object of this division will be seen a little later on, but it is as well to make it clear at this point, for the panel numbers will be considered as running from 1 to 8, commencing at the top.

If now we measure the panels we shall find that the first three are approximately squares of 33 inches each. The fourth panel formed by the upper part cut off (as I have just suggested) will also be found to be a square of 33 inches. The other panels are of varying sizes. The fact that the four top panels, which would no doubt have been painted first, are of equal size, cannot be a mere coincidence, and would seem to show:

- (1) That the artist was copying from plates and not producing original drawings, and
- (2) that he made a mistake in his scale of enlargement.

This last seems not to have been discovered till the fourth panel and portion of the fifth had been completed. Then it was seen that, if he proceeded with the remainder on the same scale, there would not be room for them all unless an extra length was joined on. As a result the heights of the remaining panels were reduced so as to get them in, while the intended bottom border was dropped out altogether. When examining the panels in detail it will be seen that there is considerable evidence to support this theory.

But before proceeding to the panels it may be as well to examine the border and see whether that can tell us anything. At first it would appear as if it was not divided into sections as is the case with the middle panels, but closer inspection points to division at fairly regular distances. Reading in inches from the top line of the border we have divisions at 37, 74, 111, 145, and a very marked one at 181. These are on the left hand margin, but they can also be traced on the right hand, though that at 74 is very faint. Of greater interest, however, are the blanks which appear at the top and bottom of each column, while nowhere is the design carried out to the outside margin. This last would tend to show that a narrower margin was originally contemplated, and that the tacked on border was an afterthought to assist in correcting a mistake.

The omission of the bottom border through force of circumstances seems to be proved beyond all doubt. We have seen from Bros. Craven and Speth's description that the margins were intended to represent the migration of the Chosen People from the setting out of Abram till the settlement in the Promised Land, and yet in this pictorial narrative we find no record of such incidents as the Plagues, the Exodus, the Crossing of the Yam Suph, and the Giving of the Law. And all of these would have come into the place where the pictorial narrative is broken by the omission of the bottom border. If further evidence be needed, we have it in the two blank spaces in the margins which adjoin the eighth or Craft panel. I hope before closing these notes to show what was the original intent of the designer, and how the mistake arose which led to the modification of the design which we find in the present Scroll.

We can now pass on to an examination of the panels in detail and see what can be learned from that source.

PANEL 1 may be termed the Creation panel, and clearly refers to Gen. ii., 19. "And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto the man to see

what he would call them." Why Bros. Craven and Speth should have concluded that the human figure shown was intended for Eve, it is hard to say, seeing that her creation is detailed three verses later than that just quoted. Possibly the long hair and absence of beard might account for it, but the same characteristics appear in undoubtedly male figures in Panel 3. It may be noted that the narrative in Genesis has no mention of the fish, and further that there is no indication of water in the panel such as is shown by the curved lines in Panel 3. At the top of the panel we have a representation of the sun (left), the moon and seven stars (right) and a glory in the centre. The glory contains symbols which are, no doubt, intended for Hebrew letters and to refer to some form of the Sacred Name. The number of the symbols would correspond to Elohim. The suggestion that they are intended to represent a date of 1777 can be safely ignored. Before, however, leaving this panel it is as well to draw attention to the blank space underneath the tree on the left. This panel has no special Masonic significance, and has far more to do with the historical margin: and for these reasons I am disposed to think that it was not intended as one of the series of panels, but simply as a head to the Scroll as a whole. I shall revert to this question at a later stage.

PANEL 2 does not appear to refer to any particular degree, and the same may be said of all except the lowest three: its emblems are those of purely Christian Degrees. In the triangle at the top the word God is given in Greek capitals. In the star on its right are other letters, apparently intended for Hebrew, which may be clear to those who have taken some of these Degrees. In the double triangle of lights in the middle of the right hand side two inscriptions appear. The upper contains two cypher characters, which, if they are the same as those used in the two lowest panels, would be R. and T. Those in the lower are no doubt intended for Hebrew. But what should be specially noted in connection with this panel is the careful spreading out of the symbols, as contrasted with the crowding which appears in the three lowest panels. Take, for instance, the bottom set: we can clearly distinguish the serpent, the rope, the crown of thorns, the hammer, pincers and nails, the dice for the casting of the lots, and what is no doubt the sepulchre in the right hand bottom corner. In connection with this last, however, there is a slight error, the number of dots being thirty as against the more correct 33.

PANEL No. 3. The position of the hands may afford a clue as to whether the panel is intended to illustrate any particular degree, as to which I can express no opinion. Parts of the panel would suggest the shipwreck of St. Paul at Malta. The central crowned figure rising from the waves can be claimed as Neptune in spite of the absence of a trident. Just above are his two sea-horses, and the symbols depicted on their heads are interesting. That on the left has a dove bearing an olive branch, while that on the right has a St. Andrew cross. Between them is the symbol of a snake entwined on a square cross. The illustration in the top right corner is probably intended for a Roman galley or perhaps for the ark. Below the figure of Neptune there are two groups of three figures each, half immersed in water. Four of them have trumpets and may be intended to represent the four winds, but I can get no further than drowning sailors for the other two, and something better for the whole group ought to be forthcoming. Below the clasped hands on the left we have a collection of things among which can be distinguished a banner on a spear, a spear, a ladder, a sponge on a reed (doubtful), and a pointing hand. There is a Latin inscription on the circle of which I can make nothing, the words being NUTERINA ET SULTERINEA. Corresponding to this on the right side is a square design which may be compared with a somewhat similar one in Panel 7. Below that is a type of cross which no doubt has to do with one of the Knight-hood degrees.

But to me the most interesting item in the panel is the illustration along the bottom consisting of three arches spanning water and with figures and symbols on it. The symbol of a bridge with three arches is by no means rare,

sometimes plain and at others with figures or other symbols. A plain bridge without additions is shown in the jewel in *A.Q.C.* xiv., 136, with a cock standing near it. Then we have another in the Ark Mariner warrant reproduced in *A.Q.C.* xxiv., 98, this having a serpent on a cross surmounting the central arch. Another appears in the Red Cross Certificate in *A.Q.C.* xix., 2, dated 1808 and addressed "To All the Enlightened Knights of the Red Cross and Noachidas." This shows two figures, one military, guarding the bridge, and the other civilian, advancing towards it. Bro. Songhurst, in reply to my enquiry, considered that the Kirkwall illustration might perhaps refer to the degree of Red Cross of Babylon. I had suggested that the two figures on the centre arch were performing an act of reconciliation between the old covenant, represented by the Ten Commandments and the Brazen Serpent on the right, with the new covenant, represented by the Lamb and the Book of the Gospels on the left. Bro. Songhurst questioned my idea of "reconciliation," and suggested that the figures might be lifting up their hands in hostility. I had based my reconciliation interpretation more on the fact that the figures appear to be kneeling.

In Mackey's *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry* the following appears under the heading "Bridge":—

We find, after the establishment of Christianity and in the Middle Ages, a secret fraternity organized, as a branch of the Travelling Freemasons of that period, whose members were exclusively devoted to the building of bridges, and who were known as Pontifices, or Bridge Builders . . .

A portion of these "Freemasons," withdrawing from the general body, united, under the patronage of the Church, into a distinct corporation of Freres Pontifes, or Bridge Builders. . . .

As late as 1590 we find the Order existing at Lucca, in Italy, where, in 1562, John de Medicis exercised the functions of its chief under the title of Magister, or Master. How the Order became finally extinct is not known; but after its dissolution much of the property which it had accumulated passed into the hands of the Knights Hospitallers or Knights of Malta. . . .

Nothing has remained in modern Masonry to preserve the memory of the former connection of the Order with the bridge builders of the Middle Ages, except the ceremony of opening a bridge, which is to be found in the rituals of the last century; but even this has now almost become obsolete. . . .

Mackey gives no authorities for the statements quoted, but the connection of the Church with the building and maintenance of bridges is undoubted. Shrines were frequently placed on them, and occasionally niches for statues of saints are found on the faces of a bridge.

PANEL 4 shows the Tabernacle in the wilderness with the tents of the tribes placed round it as described in Numbers ii. The respective positions are as follows:—

East:—Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun.

South:—Reuben, Simeon, and Gad.

West:—Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin.

North:—Dan, Asher, and Naphtali.

The respective banners were Lion (Judah), Man (Reuben), Ox (Ephraim), and Eagle (Dan). Kirkwall gives the order, commencing at the top left and going round, as Man, Ox, Lion, Eagle; and it is interesting to note that it follows the zodiacal order. The Evangelist order is Man (Matthew), Lion (Mark), Ox (Luke), and Eagle (John). The four creatures described in Rev. iv., 7, are given in the order of Lion, Calf, Man, and Eagle, while the R.A. order in this jurisdiction is the same as that of the Evangelists if read from right to left.

In considering the panel it must be remembered that we are looking towards the west. The tent of Judah in the foreground is indicated by the crown and extra dot, but the former is an anachronism considering that the headship of Judah did not come about until the accession of David. The three Rachel tribes appear nearest to the Holy of Holies, the tent of Ephraim being probably indicated by the extra curve on its top. The difference in the types of tents may be noted, and the four special banner tents. Why the banner of Ephraim is placed so far away from his tent is hard to explain.

It is also difficult to know why this and the following panel should have been included in the Scroll at all, as they have little or nothing to do with Masonry. If both had been omitted it would have enabled the three lowest panels to have been included at their full height of 33 inches and have left a margin of 17 inches for a bottom border. This was one theory I tested to account for the cutting down of the panels, but I abandoned it in favour of the one implying an error in scale. We cannot get away from the fact that these two panels are in the picture. They may be inconvenient, but I should call for conclusive evidence before consenting to throw them out.

PANEL 5 is the first of the cut-down panels, having a height of only 19 inches, or a deficiency of 14 inches when compared with the previous panels. It is a matter of conjecture as to what is represented by the largest and circular design in the centre. Perhaps it may be a circular mausoleum, perhaps an illustration of the circular type of church associated with the Templars. Both it and the other figures in the panel seem to have nothing to do with any Masonic degree, and in this respect they are in much the same position as the preceding panel. The number 89 given in Roman numerals in the triangle might be worth investigation as a Lodge or Chapter number and a possible source of origin.

But if the panel affords little symbolic information it certainly indicates a change in the execution of the design, and to my mind the discovery of a mistake. If we examine the symbols in the four corners, it will have to be admitted that the workmanship displayed in the two upper is decidedly superior to that of the two lower, the former being quite equal to the careful drawing of the tabernacle in the preceding panel. I suggest that, after the two top symbols had been completed, the designer (a different person from the artist) discovered the impossibility of executing the remaining panels on the same scale, viz., 33 inches square. Either a wrong scale had been used in the preceding panels, or else Panel 4 already completed and Panel 5 in course of delineation had been wrongly included. The only remedy was to cut down the heights of this and of the remaining panels, and each of them in its present form gives evidence that this was done.

Cutting down was not a difficult matter in Panel 5. All that had to be done was to reduce the diameter of the central figure by (probably) one-third, and push up the two corner figures as far as they would go. If the panel had been carried out as in the original design, it would have occupied the 33 inches square in something like what appears in Diagram I. The large circle would represent the outline of the central building and the letters A and B the position of the two corner geometrical designs. The change in the scale of reproduction which the artist was compelled to adopt would be sufficient to account for the irregularity shown in the drawing of the central figure and of those in the lower corners.

PANEL 6. Before going on to consider the symbols and the cypher, let us see the effect of the cutting down here. There was not much room for reduction, but four inches have gone from the bottom and these in the original design no doubt contained the pick and crow, and the shovel and rope, which now appear outside the pillars, together with the various items which have been crowded in between the altar and the figures of the cherubim. As has already been mentioned, there is no such crowding of the symbols in the second panel.

There can be no doubt as to the object of the designer so far as this panel is concerned, and that is to indicate a definite degree—the R.A. One symbol is doubtful and that is the one in the circles immediately over the joined wings of the cherubim. It appears to be the jewel of the J.W. attached to a collar, but why should it be where it is? The only solution I can offer is that it refers to Amos vii., 7 and 8. The symbol in the top right hand corner is clearly intended for the breastplate of the High Priest, while that in the left probably represents the golden plate on the mitre. If so, the small symbols on it would no doubt be the initial letters of the inscription “Holiness to the Lord,” or the Hebrew equivalent. They appear to be in the same type of cypher which is found at the top of the altar.

On the face of the altar we have the arms of the Grand Lodge of the Antients. Bro. Songhurst has informed me that these first appeared in *Ahiman Rezon* of 1764 (*vide A.Q.C.* xii., 151). Consequently it is reasonable to assume that the Scroll is of later date than that, especially as there are other traces of Antient influence.

But the most fascinating thing in this panel is the cypher inscription at the top of the altar. Bros. Craven and Speth gave it up, but Bro. Emile Adrianyi writes in *A.Q.C.* x., 193:—

The inscription between the Seraphim is “Holiness to the Lord.” Some of the signs, as the l, r, e, s, are very like to one another, but there can be no doubt that this is the correct interpretation.

There seems to me to be a very considerable amount of doubt, and Bro. Adrianyi gives no identification of the various symbols in the cypher. All we can gather is that he considers the symbols as representing the English translation, seeing that there is no “r” in the Hebrew version. Further, the number of symbols in the inscription is 16, the English version shows 17 letters, and the Hebrew would show 14.

To enable easier examination to be made I had the inscription enlarged from the reproduction of Bros. Craven and Speth. It is as follows:—



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

It will be observed that the last four letters are quite separate from the remainder. One can quite understand a first try with these as the tetragrammaton, reading from right to left Y H V H, but where is the answer to come from to the following objections? First, that inscription was not on the altar but on the mitre of the High Priest, where its initial letters are found as we have just seen in the Kirkwall representation of it. Second, why should the name be read from right to left here when it has to be read from left to right in the cypher in the next panel? Third, this interpretation does not help in decoding the rest of the symbols.

With the exception of the S the symbols can all be traced in a trilineal cypher of the form given in Diagram II., but with the exception of the first (duplicated in the eleventh), the fourth, and the fifth, they could all be taken as English letters. The two on the Golden Plate (if they belong to the cypher) are undoubtedly trilineal. I decided to try a double code on the basis of the trilineal as representing letters and the English letters as numbers. The latter certainly gave a good result so far as the last four were concerned; for, using the last ten letters of the alphabet from Q to Z inclusive and replacing them by the numbers from 0 to 9, we should get for S T S Z, a number which would read 2329. Remembering that the panel is undoubtedly R.A., we can deduct 530 from that in order to get an A.D. year, which would be 1799. This might

be the date of the Scroll, which Bro. E. H. Dring places between 1790 and 1800 in his paper in *A.Q.C.* xxix., 275. But we are still faced with the remainder of the cypher, and here it is a question of the identity of at least two of the symbols. Firstly, is the second letter Y or T? I am inclined to the former, but it needs verification from the original, and this I cannot get. Secondly, as to the ninth, is this T the same as the English letter as shown in the fourteenth, or is it part of the trilineal cypher? There is a trifling difference between the two, as the vertical strokes of the T in the fourteenth are carried to the top of the cross-bar, whereas in the ninth they are not. If we assume that the two are identical we might interpret the S (third) and the T (ninth) as indicating the commencement of the second and third words of the cypher. This would then read: 2329. Then, assuming that the sixth, seventh, and eighth symbols are identical, the second set would appear to represent a numeral in Roman letters or possibly they are to be interpreted by means of the Kabalah. The cypher surely ought to be traceable from an outside source, possibly in an old book containing plates from which the panels were copied. The Kabalah letters coded into a cypher will be found in the jewel pictured and described in *A.Q.C.* xxii., 93. One would have expected to find here the usual initials of the three Grand Masters and the Triple Tau, but the symbols give no evidence of these. They appear to be divided into three groups 1 to 7, 8 to 12, and 13 to 16, but the division between the second and third groups is much more marked than that between the first and second. The difficulty to my mind lies in the third symbol S, which cannot be reconciled with a rectilineal cypher. But, in spite of my failure to obtain a complete interpretation, I am still inclined to think that I have correctly interpreted the last four symbols. Some day I hope to learn from some other Brother what I have failed to elucidate myself.

PANEL 7. Efforts here have resulted in greater success than those in connection with the preceding panel. Only 17 inches in height remain, 16 being missing: and in this case the part cut off has been thrown aside among the rubbish, instead of being crowded into other parts of the panel. Enough, however, is left to enable us to identify the two degrees which the panel is intended to represent, viz., Mark on the right and Excellent Master on the left. Taking the latter first, the symbol at the top, which was a matter of doubt to Bros. Craven and Speth, is almost certainly intended for the Burning Bush with the Sacred Name inscribed thrice below it. This last I shall return to when dealing with the cypher. Below we have the rod and the serpent, and below them a curious-looking symbol which can be identified on careful inspection as the leprous hand, showing one digit sound and the other four withered or skeleton. The third of the three signs recorded in Ex. iv., 1 to 10, viz., the pouring of the water on the ground, has been cut off in the missing part. The T square and the weapon on the left may refer to the conditions under which the returned exiles after the Captivity rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem, as described in Neh. iv., 17.

It is not quite so easy to identify the right hand side with the Mark Degree. The position of the hands crossed at the wrists may be noted, and the symbol just below can be claimed as the wicket of the S.W. Much, of course, is missing of what we should expect to find, including the special implement of the J.W. But the cypher inscription will lend a little support to the claim, together with the fact that the two degrees are closely associated in the Scottish working.

The cypher itself calls for little comment. It is in a form generally known, although the designer has endeavoured to make its solution a little more interesting by omitting the letters J and K from their usual place. The key is given in Diagram II. The form for the extra letters is somewhat unusual and is partly formed by the use of a horizontal line intersected by a slanting one, while two special characters have been used for J. and W.

The translation is as follows:—

1. I AM hath sent me
2. unto you. I AM that
3. I AM. I am the Rose
4. of Sharon and the Lilly
5. of the Vally. HEGEE
6. ASHER HEJAH. I AM
7. that I AM or I WILL
8. BEE that I WILL BEE.
9. JAH DADAIAH.

The letters in *italic* are obvious corrections of error in the cypher. It will be noticed that there is a variation in the third letter in the ninth line from the version given by Bros. Craven and Speth. There it is L instead of H. Obviously that is a mistake, and in consequence led them to suggest Hallalujah as a possible meaning. The word as I have given it is a variant of the better-known Jedidaiah, "The beloved of the Lord," a name given to Solomon in II. Sam. xii., 25, and which may well be referred to in the letter of Hiram to Solomon (II. Chron. ii., 11), "Because the LORD hath loved his people He hath made thee king over them." The other quotations are from Ex. iii., 14, and from Song of Solomon ii., 1.

The last word in line 5 and the first two in line 6 are, as pointed out by Bro. Emile Adrianyi (*A.Q.C.* x., 193), a variation of the Hebrew "Ehjah asher Ehjah." Whether in using the symbols as he has done, the designer was trying to draw attention to the alternative rendering of the Hebrew tenses, it is impossible to say. Perhaps it may have been a mistake by the copying artist. But it is certainly interesting to note that in addition to the usual "I AM that I AM" he gives the variant "I WILL BE that I WILL BE." This variant is given in the Revised but not in the Authorised marginal reference of Exodus. There are certain errors in the cypher which should be noted. First, there is the use of the double E in the words BEE, although ME in line 1 is correctly spelt. Possibly this may be intended as a contrast to the silent E at the end of Rose. But there is a curious misuse of the symbols for G and H, both in this panel and that below. An interchange could be understood. But here in line 4 the symbol for G is used for N, while in line 7 it is used for O.

Bearing these obvious errors in mind, we can now turn back to examine the words under the Burning Bush, which in the decyphering of Bros. Craven and Speth are given as J U G E E. We find the same symbol used for V as for U, G is a simple mistake for H, and the double E becomes single. Thus we get for J U G E E the four letters J V H E, and, considering the various forms in which the Sacred Name appears, we are fairly entitled to assume that the thrice repeated cypher is intended for JahVHE.

PANEL 8 may be termed the Craft panel, and it furnishes further evidence of cutting down. The actual height is 20 inches, so that 13 inches are missing. Probably the height of the pillars has been cut down, the symbols are crowded together, while those along the bottom have been laid horizontal in order to save space. The figures on the tops of the globes are interesting and point to Antient influence. In *Freemasonry and the Concordant Orders*, p. 556, there is an illustration entitled the "Dermott Arch" with exactly similar figures on the top of the two pillars, but no globes are depicted. This is stated to be a Dermott design, and the name of Lord Blesington appears in the wording. This will give some idea of the antiquity of the design, as Lord Blesington's term as Grand Master lasted from 1756 to 1760. The design was continued and it will be found on the invitation card to the Grand Feast in 1769,

as illustrated in *A.Q.C.* xviii., 176. There is a slight variation, however, as in each of these the Master is shown holding the gavel in his right hand and resting his left upon the figure of the 47th proposition, which does not appear in Kirkwall. In the two Antient illustrations the words "Virtue & Silence" appear on the left pillar and "True Friendship" on the other.

At the top there is probably an artist's error in displaying eight stars instead of the usual seven. The meaning of the symbol in the top right hand corner is not clear. Bro. Dring (*A.Q.C.* xxix., 276) suggests that it is a cypher of H.B., but M.B. seems at least worthy of consideration. It could then be coupled with the M. in the opposite corner. The third symbol on the left side is also a source of difficulty. Bro. Dring suggests a winding staircase, alternatives being a ladder with a rope attached, or a full length operative apron with a cord to tie round the neck. I prefer the ladder, as its omission from the panel would be unlikely.

The cypher on the pedestal is in the same form as that of the previous panel, and its translation is given below with the errors in italic. It will be noticed that there are one or two slight differences from the version given by Bros. Craven and Speth, but the alterations made are in favour of the Scroll:—

1. I Chronikils, 2d Chapt'r. 48, 49.
2. Judhes Chapt'r 12. 6, 7.
3. Hensis Chap'r 4. 22.
4. I Kings, Chap'r 7. 21.
5. Mathew Chap'r 16. 18.

The first shows that the designer knew more of the V.S.L. than many of his modern Brethren. The next three are only what we might expect to find: but surely the last is not usually associated with Freemasonry:—

And I also say unto thee, that thou art 'Peter,' and upon this 'rock' I will build my church: and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it.

Possibly it may contain an allusion to the name "Kirk-wall," and if so it would go to prove that the Scroll was produced locally and not imported.

I am inclined to think that the original design was for a single width of linen with a top panel of 33 inches square, a border of say $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches on either side, and a bottom border of 20 inches in height, these surrounding seven interior panels of 24 inches square. It would not, I think, be unreasonable to assume that these interior panels were copied from illustrations in a book, while the top panel and the borders were the work of the artist. I further suggest that two persons were responsible for the production, one the designer, quite possibly a minister of the Kirk, and the other the actual artist, who endeavoured to carry out the designs. It will be seen that uniformity in the size of the interior panels would have rendered the Scroll of far greater use. It could then have been wound on top and bottom rollers, hung on a wall, and used to show only one panel at a time. I doubt the floorcloth theory: firstly, because the length is too great for any but a very large room, and, secondly, because the use of these floorcloths had been expressly forbidden by an edict of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1759 (*Gould's History* iii., 62), and the Scroll is obviously of later date than that.

It seems only right to consider what may be termed collateral evidence and see whether we can get any further light from that. Linen work is not uncommon. In *A.Q.C.* iv., 56, there is a reproduction of a linen apron (?) 32 by 29 inches with the emblems worked on it in silk. A date of at least 1817 is assigned to this. A somewhat similar production came into the possession of

the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales not long ago, of which a photograph is reproduced. Its size, 30 by 25 inches, together with a tassel attached to the top right hand corner, leads me to think that it was intended for a banner or firescreen, but there is no history attached to it. In both these two specimens of linen work we find symbols of very similar type to those in the Kirkwall Scroll.

But of greater value are the Ark Mariner Apron (illustrated in *A.Q.C.* xxii., 188), which is dated 1794, and of which we have a better preserved specimen in Sydney, and the Interim Warrant (*A.Q.C.* xxiv., 98), which bears a date of 1796. Both are evidently printed from the same plate. The resemblance to Kirkwall may be seen in the top and bottom panels extending right across, the latter being omitted from Kirkwall, while there are four pairs of illustrative panels and a border of symbols round the edge. The date is helpful when trying to find one for the Kirkwall Scroll.

The Kirkwall mystery is still not finally solved, but it is hoped that the foregoing notes may help towards its elucidation.



FRIDAY, 2nd OCTOBER, 1925.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., I.P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., S.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M., as J.W.; E. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; Gilbert W. Daynes; and H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. W. F. Stausser, J. H. McLachlan, P.G.S.B. (S.C.), W. E. Heaton, Walter Dewes, A. Heiron, R. J. Sadleir, C. F. Sykes, F. K. Jewson, Wm. C. Minifie, Robert Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Ed. M. Phillips, W. J. Williams, C. H. Inwood, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., L. G. Wearing, W. H. Pocklington, P.A.G.P., G. W. Bullamore, J. Walter Hobbs, as I.G., G. H. Ward, Wm. Lewis, F. Lace, A. F. Ball, R. Wheatley, G. B. Cozens-Brooke, Geo. M. Doe, J. Toon, Geo. P. Simpson, A. Sandland, Hy. G. Gold, A. B. Joscelyne, P. H. Horley, Geo. C. Williams, A. E. Gurney, George Young, W. Brinkworth, J. H. Marsh, W. Stubbings, F. M. Atkinson, and Eric Alven.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Charles H. Wales, P.M., Prince Leopold Lodge No. 1445; T. Smith, I.P.M., Marcellians Lodge No. 4450; Harold M. Horan, Albany Lodge No. 151; and N. J. Adkins, Rainham Lodge No. 3079.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; Rev. H. Poole, J.D.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, J.W.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

Brethren, it is with deep regret that I have to announce to you that since our last meeting two of our members have gone from among us.

Our Brother COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA was born in 1846. He became Doctor of Philosophy and Professor of the History of Religion at Brussels University and was honorary LL.D. of Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities. From 1878 to 1884 he sat in the Belgian Chamber as deputy for Brussels. In 1900 he was elected to the Senate, of which he became Vice-President in 1912. On the outbreak of War he was made a Minister of State, and from January, 1916, till the Peace, he was a member of the de Broqueville Cabinet. He had retired from the Senate some time previously. He died on the 8th September last from injuries received on the 7th by being knocked down by a motor car.

Our Brother was a member of the Lodge *Les Amis Philanthropes* No. 2, of Brussels, of which he was a P.M. He was also a Past Grand Master of Belgium. He became a joining member of our Lodge on 5th March, 1909. In connexion with his membership of Quatuor Coronati a striking incident took place in the early days of the late Great War. Brother Goblet d'Alviella arrived in London, a fugitive from the Continent with hardly a penny in his pocket, and came to our house in Great Queen Street to borrow from Brother Songhurst the wherewithal to take him to the Belgian headquarters in France. Our Secretary not only provided him with what money he wanted, but also was the first to give him the news that he had just been appointed a Minister of State. It is pleasing now to reflect that in the hour of his distress this famous savant and patriot was able to come to his English Lodge for help, and that from the mouth of one of his English Brethren he learnt for the first time of the honour done him by his King. Our Brother was a copious author, his books including "The Religious Evolution of the English People" and "India and the Himalayas." In addition he was the author of many Masonic books, such as "L'Ordre du Temple et sa doctrine secrète," "Les origines du Grade de Maître," and the famous "Migration of Symbols," which no student of Masonic research who wishes to learn his trade can afford to leave unread. To our own *Transactions* Brother Goblet d'Alviella contributed papers on "The Quatuor Coronati in Belgium" (1900); "Mithraic Rites" (1900); "A Belgian Daughter of the Grand Lodge of Scotland" (1907); "The English Provincial Grand Lodge of the Austrian Netherlands" (1912); "The Papal Bulls and Freemasonry in Belgium" (1912), etc.

Though only a few of us will have recollections of having sat in this Lodge with Brother Goblet d'Alviella, we shall all do well to be proud of having numbered among our members one who in his time was such a notable European figure in the worlds of Statecraft, Science, and Masonry.

On 30th July, 1925, there passed into his rest at Durban, South Africa, one of our most senior members, Brother Dr. WILLIAM WYNN WESTCOTT.

Our Brother was born 17th December, 1848, at Leamington, of old Devonshire stock. His father, a skilful surgeon, died some ten years later, and our Brother was brought up by his uncle Richard Westcott Martyn, also a doctor. He was educated at Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Kingston-on-Thames, and University College, London. He studied medicine at University College and Hospital, and also at St. Mary's Hospital. In 1870 he became a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries and member of the College of Surgeons. He then took up practice with his uncle at Martock, in Somersetshire, and in November, 1871, became M.B. of London University. During his residence at Martock he was appointed certifying Factory Surgeon, Public Vaccinator and Medical Officer of Health. He also acted as Manager of Elementary Schools, Director of a Fire Brigade, Quartermaster to a battalion of Volunteers, and as highly successful organizer of various public functions.

After nine years' work in Martock, our Brother went into retirement at Hendon for two years, which were entirely devoted to the study of the Kabalistic philosophy, the works of the Hermetic writers, and the remains of the Alchemists and Rosicrucians.

On returning to public life in 1881 he was appointed Deputy-Coroner for Central London and Central Middlesex, and some time later obtained the degree of D.P.H. He subsequently became Coroner for North-East London, a position held till he retired from public life altogether in 1918. Among his other dignities he reckoned those of being a member of the Inner Temple and J.P. for Stoke Newington.

On his retirement our Brother went to live in Durban, South Africa, with relatives. His last years were overshadowed by a series of sad family bereavements, but brightened by the care of a devoted daughter whose filial conduct was well worthy of such a father.

In his own profession Brother Westcott will be best remembered as the joint author with Dr. Martindale of the "Extra Pharmacopeia," now in its fifteenth edition, and up to the time of his death he assisted in its successive revisions. He was also the author of medical books on Suicide, Child Mortality, Heart Disease, and Sudden Death.

Our Brother was initiated in the Parrett and Axe Lodge No. 814, Crewkerne, in 1871. He became W.M. in 1874. He joined the Lodge of Brotherly Love No. 329, Yeovil. In 1877 he became Prov. Grand Director of Ceremonies for Somerset. He was exalted in Brotherly Love Chapter, Yeovil, and served as First Principal. He was advanced in the William de Irwin Mark Lodge, Yeovil. He also became a Knight Templar and Knight of Malta, and had received the 30th degree of the Antient and Accepted Rite. In 1902 he was appointed P.G.D. of England and P.G.Std.Bearer (Royal Arch).

Since the year 1892 our Brother had filled the position of Supreme Magus in the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, a Society which, though not Masonic, is recruited solely from members of the Craft.

Brother Wynn Westcott became a joining member of Quatuor Coronati 2nd December, 1886, and having filled all the subordinate officers' stations, including a two years' tenancy of the S.W.'s Chair, he was installed W.M. 8th November, 1893. He continued to take an active and valuable interest in the concerns of the Lodge until he left England for ever. His advice and immense knowledge were then always found to be at the service of the Brotherhood in his new home. He continued to attend Masonic meetings right up to the end of his life, and no later than April last he lectured to a Lodge at Verulam, about twenty miles from Durban. Thus so long as the strength of the soul could control the growing weakness of the body he remained an active Mason and a disseminator of light.

Our Brother was a writer on many subjects connected with those mystical philosophies on which he was an authority. Among these may be mentioned:—The Kabbalah; The Zodiac; The ever-burning Lamps of the Ancients; The Ten Sephiroth; The Occult power of Numbers; The Isiac Tablet; The Sepher Yetzirah; Clairvoyance in Time and Space; Divination and its History; The Ancient Mysteries; The Star Lore of the Bible; The Divining Rod; Spiritualism and Magic; The Tarot in Divination; Talismans and Charms; Necromancy and Sorcery; and the Symbolism of Stones, of Knots, of Bells, of Keys, of the Golden Fleece, of the Rose, etc.

As a writer on Masonry his contributions to our own *Transactions* included:—"Religion of Freemasonry and the Kabbalah" (1888); "Masons' Marks and the secret alphabet of Cornelius Agrippa" (1890); "Symbolism of the Tabernacle" (1893); "Rosicrucians and their connexion with Freemasonry" (1894); "The Magic Roll" (1903); "Freemasonry in its relation to the Essenes" (1915); "Mithra" (1916).

The figure of this great Mason has been for so long a pattern for imitation to so many of us that his departure may be likened to the sudden vanishing of a bright star from the firmament. But since the hour of parting with our Brother has struck, let us meet it as is becoming: not wholly with hopeless regret for a lost leader, not wholly with despair that a revered teacher can counsel us no more, not wholly with repining sorrow that a true and trusty Brother has gone out of our lives; while all of these feelings must affect us, for we are but men and subject to regret, despair and sorrow, let us conquer them by remembering that his wonderful brain, his marvellous learning, his

cultured and refined intelligence, his philanthropy and humanity were devoted through a long life to the service of mankind generally and particularly to the service of his Masonic Brethren; let us remember that he valued the ties which bound us to the very last hour of his existence, and that for the advantage of our Institution the very best part of himself was made permanent by what he said and wrote and by the example of a pure and self-sacrificing life; and when we reflect that our Brotherhood was always held so precious by that high and noble spirit, we may indeed find consolation, and almost rejoicing, in the thought that we can point to his memory as one whose life beautified our beloved Order, and that while we preserve that memory and emulate that example he may be said to be still alive for us.

Bro. Dr. John Stokes, P.G.D., was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., was re-elected Treasurer, and Bro. J. H. McNaughton was re-elected Tyler.

One Lodge of Instruction, one Consistory, and Thirty-eight Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. H. G. GOLD.

APRON and SASH, of the Society of Free Gardeners.

By Bro. W. H. POCKLINGTON.

Small Mallet HEAD, made of bone. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. W. WONNACOTT.

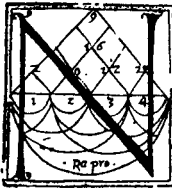
Danish CERTIFICATE, issued in 1751.

Volume of NEWSPAPERS, November, 1733—June, 1734; including "The Freemason," "The Hyp Doctor or Freemason," "The Craftsman Extraordinary," and "An Ode for the Grand Khaibar."

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

The following paper was read:—

SOME RECORDS OF THE LODGE CONSTITUTED AT
THE MAID'S HEAD, NORWICH, IN 1724.



EARLY thirty years have elapsed since Bro. Hamon Le Strange published his valuable History of Freemasonry in Norfolk and then presented us with a picture in which the progress of the Craft in Norfolk from a very early date was delineated in general outline. The ground was, however, left clear for separate histories of each Lodge; and Bro. Chetwode Crawley, in reviewing this Work in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, expressed a hope that other Brethren might be induced "to take the matter up where our Author has left off, and to present us with the inner life of the older lodges" (*A.Q.C.* ix., 125). Ever since I read this History of Norfolk Freemasonry I have had it in my mind to place before the Brethren such further information concerning our early Norfolk Lodges as I could collect, and in this Paper I have brought together, as far as I have been able, the history of the first Lodge that was constituted at Norwich after the formation of the Premier Grand Lodge in 1717. This Grand Lodge, which at its inception was only intended for London and Westminster, in 1723 widened its activities by constituting Lodges at Edgeware, Acton and Richmond. In the following year we find its activities still further extended, and Lodges are constituted under its authority in different parts of England, and at places so widely separated as Norwich in the East and Bath and Bristol in the West. As far as we can tell from the Records of the Grand Lodge this Lodge at Norwich, which is the subject of this Paper, was the third Lodge to be constituted in the Provinces by the Grand Lodge.

There is in the possession of Mr. Walter Rye, of Norwich, a MS. volume entitled *Acta Norvicensia*. The volume was compiled by one William Massey, of Norwich, who commenced it in the year 1720. This MS. states:—

1724 MAY About this time, The Society of Free or Accepted Masons appeared publickly in this City. Mr. Prideaux Son of ye Authr, of that celebrated Work, The Connection of the Old and New Testamt. was the first Master amongst 'em here, Their Lodge was established at ye Maids-Head, and the first that were admitted after the Lodge was settled were Mr. Thoms. Johnson an Apothecary, and Mr. Wm. Crow a Weaver. After this several Gentlemen and reputable Tradesmen were made Brothers, for that is the Compellation they give one another. We know little yet of their Design or Institutes; Laudantur ab his, culpantur ab illis; However, I had it from their own Mouths very gravely, yt. they have certain Signs by which they can know one Another in any part of Europe without speaking a word, And that the Masters have likewise a peculiar Sign to Themselves, unknown to the Junior Fellows; When any new member is initiated he presents all in that Lodge with a leathern Apron and new Gloves, wch. they wear that Evening (*A.Q.C.* xv., 176).

The first part of this Account bears a striking resemblance to an Account of the same event contained in a book, published in 1822, known as *The Norwich Remembrancer*, containing eighteenth century extracts from the *Norfolk Chronicle* and *Norwich Gazette*. In this book we read:—

1724 May 11. About this time the Society of free and accepted Masons appeared publicly in this City. Mr. Prideaux, Son of the Rev. Dr.

Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, author of 'The Connection between the Old and New Testament,' was the first Master here; their Lodge was at the Maid's Head (*Norwich Remembrancer*, p. 5).

Beyond a bare statement that "this Lodge was Constituted in ye year 1724 by Martin Folkes, Esq^r," contained in the Minute Book to which I shall refer in due course, we have no further records as to the constitution of the Lodge. There has, however, fortunately been preserved a most interesting letter from Martin Folkes to the R.W. Master and Wardens of the Lodge at the Maid's Head, Norwich, which is well worth quoting in full. It reads as follows:—

Hillington Augt. 3d. 1724.

Good Brethren

The great civilitys and kind entertainment I received from your Lodg at Norwich require I should take the first opportunity of returning you my heartiest thanks for it, and entreating you will in my name return the same to the whole company of your lodg, for whom I have the greatest respect, and should be proud of any opportunity of expressing it. You were indeed pleased to entertain me farr beyond what could any ways be expected and beyond what any person in my office has before met with in the course of his visitation, but I am sensible I am not only to impute it to that but to the singular ffriendship some of your members are pleased to honour me with. be pleased therefore Gentlemen for your selves and the whole company to accept my best acknowledgements, and give me leave to congratulate you with the having so flourishing and well constituted a Lodg, which I may with truth averr to be one of the most regular, and best ordered I have seen at all, and you are infinite happy in the unanimity and perfect agreement and fraternal friendship of all your members. I assure you there is nothing I am better pleased with than the share I had in being instrumental to the settling that meeting, in which I shall plead some merit amongst the Brethren and think I have served the fraternity I have one thing more to thank you and your Brethren for, and that is your kind and general acceptance of me as a member of your lodg which I shall ever be proud of, and take all opportunitys of approving my self a faithfull Brother of the same.

Gentlemen I most heartily wish you and your Brethren all sorts of happiness and prosperity and remain with sincerity both in my publick and private capacity

Good Brethren

your humble servant and very affectionate Brother

M. FOLKES. Dep: Grand Mr.

and member of your Lodge.

In the "List of the Regular Lodges as Constituted 'till March 25th 1725," engraved by J. Pine, and 49th on the List, we find in the first and second columns, "Maid's Head," and "City of Norwich." The third column, in which should appear the day of meeting is, however, blank.

The next reference, in order of date, to the Lodge appears in the earliest Minute Book of Grand Lodge, where, in the "List of the Regular Constituted Lodges together with the Names of the Masters and Wardens and Members of each Lodge as by an Account deliver'd at a Quarterly Communication held 27th November 1725," the Lodge meeting at "the Maid's Head at Norwich" appears 47th, and immediately follows the Lodges meeting at Bath and Bristol respectively. The names of twenty-three members appear in this List, and they are included in Appendix I. Edmund Prideaux is still shown as Master, his two Wardens being "Mr. Rich: Tempest" and "Mr. John Rolf."

It is impossible, at this date, to say if the names on this List of 1725 are given in order of seniority. It certainly cannot be, so far as Martin Folkes is concerned, because his name appears at the bottom of the List, although he constituted the Lodge and was a member from that time. Martin Folkes is

shown as a member of the Lodge at the Bedford Head, Covent Garden, in the Grand Lodge MS. List of 1725, and he was appointed Deputy Grand Master, by his great friend Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond, at the General Meeting of Grand Lodge on the 24th June, 1724. It would be quite likely that as constituting officer he would be asked to become a member, or perhaps signify his wish to become a member. If, however, we can look upon Martin Folkes as, what we should now term, an Honorary Member, then perhaps the List may be in order of seniority. In favour of this supposition it may be noted that the names of Thomas Johnson and William Crow come eighth and ninth, and in the order in which they are said to have been made Masons in the Lodge. Immediately above these two names, and seventh on the List, is that of Charles Denham. Charles Denham was landlord of the Maid's Head in 1730, and we may, therefore, I think, take it for granted that he was the landlord in 1724. Also, if the six members in front of Charles Denham and Charles Denham himself were the Founding Members of the Lodge, it is quite certain that the last-named would, as landlord, have been placed junior in rank. Against this supposition it must be noted that the name of James Carlos appears twenty-first on the List, with only the name of Erasmus Earle between him and Martin Folkes. In a List of Members in 1745 James Carlos is shown as having been admitted a member in June, 1724. James Carlos must, therefore, be out of seniority, unless the "several Gentlemen and reputable Tradesmen" who "were made Brothers" were the eleven members between him and William Crow and were so made within about six weeks, there being no initiations between June, 1724, and November, 1725. Erasmus Earle was a joining member, because we find him given, in the Grand Lodge MS. List of 1725, as the Junior Warden of the Lodge at the Queen's Head at Bath. Whether the names in this List are in order of seniority or not must, I am afraid, remain a matter for speculation. Our knowledge, however, of the members enables us to state with perfect certainty that the members were gentlemen and respectable tradesmen residing in the City of Norwich, or the County of Norfolk.

In 1728, the Grand Lodge took steps to ascertain the precedency of the several Lodges, and in the Engraved List for 1729 we find the Lodges duly arranged in the order of their constitution. The Lodge at the Maid's Head was placed thirtieth on this Engraved List, but the day of meeting, and the date of constitution, is left blank.

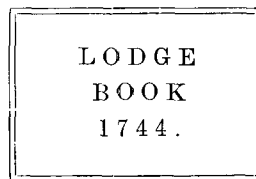
In the "List of Names of the Members of all the regular Lodges as they were returned in the year 1731 the Rt. Honble. Thomas Lord Lovell being then Grand Master, "the Lodge is given as "The Queen's Head City of Norwich." This is an error for The Maid's Head, and was no doubt on account of the engraving of the head of Queen Elizabeth, in the Engraved Lists, being misread. The page in the Minute Book of Grand Lodge intended for the names of the members of this Lodge is, however, blank; so we have nothing further to assist us as to the membership of the Lodge during this period.

The Engraved Lists continue to show the Lodge as meeting at the Maid's Head until 1736, when the Engraved List for that year shows the Lodge as meeting at the Three Tuns. The Landlord of the Three Tuns was James Royal, and in the List of Members, in 1745, he is shown as admitted a member in December, 1735. The move to the Three Tuns must have taken place about that date, but whether just before, or just after, the initiation of James Royal I have not been able accurately to determine. In the Engraved List for 1738 the Lodge is shown as meeting at the Three Tuns, and the day of meeting is given as the "First Thursday." The date of constitution is still blank. On the renumbering of the Lodges in 1740 this Lodge became No. 27, and in the Engraved List for that year the date of constitution is given for the first time. The year 1724 is given, but no month or day. The Lodge still meets at the Three Tuns, and the meeting day remains the same. There is no reference to the Lodge having sent any representatives to the meetings of Grand Lodge in either of the First or Second Minute Books of Grand Lodge, covering a period from the 24th June, 1723, to the 12th December, 1739. Also, there is no

record of the Lodge having made any payments to the General Fund of Charity throughout the same period.

Having given such information concerning the Lodge as I have been able to glean from the early Records of the Grand Lodge, and also from any other sources I have been able to tap, I now come to the records contained in an early Minute Book of the Lodge, which came into the possession of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Norfolk in 1894. This volume, with several others belonging to extinct Norfolk Lodges, had apparently been in the custody of Bro. Leedes Fox, who was Provincial Grand Secretary from 1856 to 1864, but it was not transferred to his successor in office when he himself was promoted to the rank of Deputy Provincial Grand Master in the last-mentioned year. On the death of Bro. Leedes Fox, at Harleston, in 1866, the volumes were presented by his partner in business, who was not a Mason, to Faithful Lodge at Harleston, in the custody of which Lodge they remained, almost forgotten, up to 1894, when, on the facts being properly represented to the Brethren, the books were restored by them to Provincial Grand Lodge.

The Minute Book of the Maid's Head Lodge consists of about 230 leaves, and in nearly every case both sides of each leaf are written upon. It is a folio volume, bound in rough calf, and on the outside of the cover is lettered:—



On the first page of this Minute Book there is a short account of the constitution of the Lodge, and of one or two outstanding events in the early history of the Lodge prior to the recorded Minutes. The account runs as follows:—

This Lodge was Constituted in ye year 1724 by Martin Folkes Esqr. deputy Grand Master to his Grace ye Duke of Richmond and afterwards had ye honour of a visitt from ye Right Honble ye Lord Colerane whilst he was Grand Master who declared his approbation and signified his desire of becoming a member thereof as may be seen more at large in ye first Sederunt Book.

Several remarkable distinctions have been paid to this Lodge by ye many Honble and Right Worshipfull Brethren who have visited it very frequently, many also have been Initiated into ye solemn Misterys and ancient Science of Masonry, but as an extraordinary Instance of the great Regard shown to this Lodge, the Right Honble ye Lord Lovel ye present Earl of Leicester when he was Grand Master suñond ye Master and Brethren to hold a Lodge at Houghton Hall, there were present the Grand Master, his Royall Highness ye Duke of Lorrain and many other noble Brethren, and when all was put into due form, ye Grand Master presented his Grace ye Duke of Newcastle, ye Right Honble ye Earl of Essex, Major General Churchill and his own Chaplain who were unanimously accepted of and made Masons by the Right Worshipfull Thomas Johnson the then Master of this Lodge.

I have dealt with this account of the meeting at Houghton Hall at some length in a Paper I read before the Lodge, entitled "The Duke of Lorraine and English Freemasonry in 1731," and I do not, therefore, propose to go over the same ground again. Immediately following this account, and on pages 2 and 3 of the Minute Book, we have an early set of By-Laws, the product of Dr. J. T. Desaguliers. The entry runs as follows:—

And for ye better preserving the Peace and Harmony of this Lodge the followg. Rules recommended by our Worthy Brothr. Dr. Desaguliers are enter'd as a testimony of the approbation of the Members thereof.

Article 1st. No member shall wear ye Jewells in any place untiled.

2. The Jewells to be worn with white Ribbands, to represent ye Badge of a Mason.
3. No Brother to wear an Apron lined with other colour'd silk but white.
4. If any Brothr. is Honour'd with ye office of Steward he may have his Apron lined with Red Silk and to be worn'd only during his being in that office.
5. If any Membr. be chose a Grand Officer he shall wear an apron lined with Blew.
6. That no ridiculous trick be play'd with any person when he is admitted.
7. That ye Lodge shall not be removed from ye place where it is held, without the Consent of the Master, the Wardens and the Majority of two thirds of the Lodge.
8. That no person be admitted a Brother unless he deposits ye admission fine, and be regularly Ballotted for, which Ballot is not to be taken till ye next Lodge which shall be held after his Nomination.
9. Every Master on his Election shall treat ye Brethren with two bottles of wine and ye Wardens with one bottle each, and on their second Election the Master one bottle, and ye Wardens a bottle between them.
10. To support ye necessary incident charges of this Lodge, it is agreed that one shilling a Quarter be paid by each Brother into ye hands of the Treasurer as a stock for that purpose.

The very fact that these By-Laws emanated from that well-known figure in early organized Freemasonry—Dr. Desaguliers—gives them a more than local interest. It is outside the scope of this Paper to deal with the Doctor's Masonic activities, but it may be noted, in passing, that he was instituted to the Living of Bridgham, in Norfolk, in 1716, from which he resigned about 1726. The Patron of the Living was the Crown. I am afraid the Doctor must have been a pluralist, and one of those many absentee Rectors who abounded in the eighteenth century. I have not been able to trace any Masonic activity on the part of Dr. Desaguliers in Norfolk, and I cannot think that these By-Laws were the result of any Norfolk connections. They were more probably the result of the friendship existing between the Doctor and Martin Folkes. Some of the By-Laws are distinctly unusual as Lodge By-Laws, as they deal with matters governed by the Regulations of the Grand Lodge. The first five articles deal with Masonic Clothing, four of which were the subject of resolutions from time to time in Grand Lodge. No. 4 restricts the wearing of an apron lined with red silk to present Grand Stewards, whereas a resolution was passed in Grand Lodge, on the 17th March, 1731, giving the privilege to all those who had served the Office of Steward, as well as those who were Stewards. The seventh Article as to the removal of the Lodge does not agree with the resolution passed by Grand Lodge on the 25th January, 1738, and which subsequently appeared, in a slightly altered form, in the second Edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. No date has been definitely assigned to these By-Laws, and, even with the hints afforded by the discrepancies I have noted, it seems impossible to fix a definite date. The sixth Article shows, that at the Maid's Head Lodge the ceremonies were treated seriously and with due decorum, all forms of levity during an initiation being strongly discountenanced. No mention is made of any degree other than the ceremony of initiation, and this points to

the By-Laws being framed at a date anterior to the general acceptance of the three degrees as now known. There is no reference in the subsequent Minutes to the By-Laws being revised, but resolutions were passed, from time to time, making alterations to them, and these will be noticed as they occur in the Minute Book.

After a blank page in the Minute Book we find two pages devoted to a List of "Brethren belonging to this Lodge in 1745." There are twenty names entered as admitted from May, 1724, to 27th December, 1745, but the List is continued until the two pages are full, the last admission being given as on 2nd May, 1765, and then states "See at the end of this Book." At the end of the Minute Book the List is continued for four years after the Minutes stop. As the book is filled from end to end we may safely assume that there was a later Minute Book covering the final period of the Lodge's activities, which disappeared after the demise of the Lodge.

On page 7 we come to the Minutes proper, and I now propose to let these Minutes speak for themselves, only adding short comments here and there to draw attention to any particular matters, or to make clear anything I deem at all dubious. The first meeting recorded is the one held on St. John's Day, 27th December, 1743. It was presided over by "Thos. Johnson Depty. Master." There were twelve other members present, including the two Wardens, and there were also two visitors. The record is as follows:—

Pursuant to a Ballot taken Mr. Stephen Gooch was admitted Brother of this Lodge.

This Day the Worshipl. Robt. Page by Thos. Johnson his Depty Resign'd the Chair as Master of this Lodge and the Brethren desired the Deputy to Return him their Thanks for his Excellent Administration in the Lodge. The Chair being accordingly declar'd Vacant, It was unanimously requested by the Brethren of this Lodge that Brother Slark would take the Chair which he was accordingly plac'd in and Return'd his Thanks for the Great Honour conferr'd on him. The Master well knowing the abilities of Bror. Craske and Brother Wickes Did appoint them Wardens for the Year ensuing.

It was unanimously agreed at this Lodge that Bror. Twiss be Secretary and Treasurer for the year ensuing.

This Minute shows the method of describing an Initiation. It also shows that the Master entered upon his duties immediately after his election, which took place on the same evening. The next meeting was held on Thursday, 2nd February, 1744, the only work done being the payment of Deposit Money. This deposit money represented 1/- for each monthly meeting, exclusive of the Masters' Lodges, which were probably under a separate arrangement not recorded in the Minute Book. This half-yearly deposit money was, of course, in addition to the Quarterage of 1/- referred to in the By-Laws.

On the 23rd February, 1744, the Minute Book records that:—

Pursuant to a former Order made for the holding a Masters Lodge once a Quarter the following Brethren met But no Conference was held on that Occasion.

The Master, one Warden and six Brethren are mentioned as being present. A similar Masters' Lodge met on the 31st May, 1744, but again "no Conference was held on that occasion." Only the Master, three Brethren and one Visitor are recorded as present. From these two entries we may assume that the date fixed for the holding of the quarterly meeting of the Masters' Lodge was, at this period at all events, the last Thursday in February, May, August and November. No meetings are, however, recorded for either August, or November, 1744.

Initiates appear to have been proposed and ballotted for at one meeting, and "admitted Brethren" at the next. For instance, on August 2nd, 1744, it is recorded:—

Brother Marks having propos'd Mr. Robt. Jollings and Mr. John Holdman to be Brethren of this Lodge a Ballot was accordingly taken and they were thereupon Unanimously Elected and agreed to be made the next Lodge Night.

At the next meeting, on the following 6th September, the Minutes state:—

Pursuant to a former Ballot taken John Holdman and Robt. Jollings were admitted Brethren at this Lodge.

On the 6th December, 1744, we learn from the Minutes that:—

It is unanimously Agreed at this Lodge that Bror. Royall and Bror. Gooch be made Master on St. John's Night next ensuing.

Both candidates were present when the resolution was passed, but there is nothing to show if either of them underwent any proficiency test. There is no record of the Degree of a Fellow Craft being conferred on Bro. Gooch, who had been initiated on the 27th December, 1743. It will also be noticed that the conferring the Degree of Master Mason rested with the members, and was not in the sole power of the Master. This remained the general custom of the Lodge for many years, resolutions being nearly always passed agreeing to Brethren receiving the various Degrees.

In addition to the two Masters' Lodges, the regular meetings of the Lodge were held on the first Thursday of each month throughout the year, except January. The January meeting was held on St. John's Day, Tuesday, 27th December, 1743. This was the day for the yearly election of the Master, and the appointment of the officers. The Master was absent three times during his term of office. On each occasion his immediate predecessor in office was present, but did not occupy the Chair, which was taken by Thomas Johnson (W.M. 1731), the senior member of the Lodge. In the absence of the Wardens, their chairs were filled, sometimes by Brethren who had passed the Chair, but just as frequently by those who had not.

At the meeting on St. John's Day, 27th, December, 1744, we are told:—

Pursuant to a former Order made Bror. Gooch and Bror. Royall were made Masters at this Lodge.

This was immediately prior to the election and installation of the new Master, and not in a special Masters' Lodge. It may be that the Installation meeting was at that time considered equivalent to a Masters' Lodge, because it was not until 1751 that the Degree of a Master Mason was conferred at a Regular meeting other than the Installation meeting on St. John's Day, or in a specially convened Masters' Lodge. At this meeting the record of the resignation of the outgoing Master, and the election of the new Master, is almost identical with that of the previous year, except that the new Master was placed in the Chair "in due form," and the Master appointed the Secretary and Treasurer instead of the Lodge electing him. In 1745, in addition to the twelve Regular meetings, there were three "Occasional" Lodges, two being for the purpose of proposing and balloting for candidates for Masonry, and the remaining one for making two candidates Masons. There was also an "Occasional Lodge of Masters" held on Tuesday, 11th June, 1745, when:—

Brother Hayman Rooke and Brother Jno. Holdman on yr. Request were admitted Masters.

This appears to have been the only occasion on which the Degree of a Master Mason was conferred without the previous consent of the Lodge until 30th March, 1774, by which time the custom had apparently died out. The Minutes on three occasions during this year contain uncorrected errors in the Christian names of those present, from which we may deduce that the Minutes were not read for confirmation at the following meeting, or these errors would have been discovered, the Brethren wrongly described being present at the next subsequent meeting. The payments of the deposit money, and also the quarterage, are shown for

the year. Some of the members' names are missing, and the name of one visiting Brother is shown as having paid both deposit and quarterage.

There is nothing on the Minutes to show where the Lodge was meeting from the date when the Minutes commence until at the meeting of the Lodge on the 5th December, 1745, when it is recorded:—

It is unanimously agreed by the Members of this Lodge That the same be removed to ye Angel Tavern in this City and they meet yrn pursuant to this Agreement on St. Johns Night next ensuing and every Month after as usual.

From the Engraved Lists we can ascertain that, prior to the removal to the Angel Tavern, the Lodge was meeting at the Three Tuns. This tavern was kept by Bro. James Royal. I think we may assume that the removal of the Lodge to the Angel Tavern was on account of Bro. Royal leaving the Three Tuns and becoming landlord of the Angel. The Minutes do not show this, but Bro. Royal remained a member of the Lodge until his death, and his widow was landlady of the Angel shortly after his death. Bro. Hamon Le Strange is, I think, in error in stating, in his History of Freemasonry in Norfolk, that the Angel Tavern here referred to was situate in St. Stephen's Street, Norwich. That was a small insignificant inn, whereas there was an Angel Tavern, afterwards the Royal Hotel, which was of considerable importance during the period in question, situated in the Market Place, Norwich. This latter tavern would be far more in keeping with the class of Masons who were members of the Lodge than the smaller inn.

The Minutes of the last-mentioned meeting also record that:—

It is also agreed that for the Future, That at a Making of any new Brother or Brethren that no more than 1s. p. Head be expend'd for a Supper on that Occasion.

Evidently the Lodge made special arrangements for all "makings," which included a supper after the ceremony was over.

The Master being absent from most of the meetings throughout the year, Thomas Johnson, the senior member of the Lodge, took the Chair, whenever he was present, as Deputy Master, although the Immediate Past Master was present. On one of the four occasions when the Master was present, Thomas Johnson is shown immediately under the Master as "Deputy Master," and above the two Wardens. During this same year—1745—in addition to the twelve regular Lodge meetings there were three occasional Lodges, two of which were held to enable candidates to be proposed and balloted for in time for the next regular meeting, while the third was held for the purpose of initiating a candidate who resided at North Walsham, a village about fifteen miles from Norwich, and who is described as "Captain." It may also be noted that, from the meeting on the 27th December, 1744, upon a ballot candidates for Masonry were elected "by a majority of the Brethren," and unanimity was not essential.

At the Anniversary Meeting on the 27th December, 1745, the procedure of the evening was slightly varied, an initiation taking place after the new Master had been placed in the Chair, but before he appointed his officers for the ensuing year. The Minutes for that evening conclude with the following resolution:—

It is Unanimously agreed at this Lodge That no person shall hereafter be admitted a Member thereof witht. first paying a fine of Three pounds and three Shillings.

There is nothing to show the fine required for admission prior to this date. The Rules do not state any fine, and the Minutes previously to this entry do not record any payments, although after this date they do mention the payment of the fine.

The Minutes for the 3rd July, 1746, record:—

It is agreed that a Summons be sent to all ye Brethren to give Notice to visit Brother Buchanan at the Castle on Thursday the 17th instant.

Brother Thomas Buchanan was a constant visitor of the Lodge from the time the Minutes commence until 5th May, 1748. It was he who, while shown as a visitor, paid deposit money and quarterage. From 1746 to 1748 he is shown sometimes as a visitor and sometimes as a member, although there is no record of his Admission as a member, and his name does not appear in the List of Members in 1745, afterwards kept up to date. Whether the visit in question was to the Castle & Lion Tavern, White Lion Lane, Norwich, where Robert Jollins, a member of the Maid's Head Lodge, constituted a Lodge, by virtue of a Grand Lodge Deputation dated 10th November, 1753, or referred to the Norwich Castle it is difficult to determine in the absence of being able to identify Thomas Buchanan. The invitation would seem, however, to be some kind of return to the Brethren for his constant visiting. The Senior Warden Thomas Woode died in the Summer of 1746, and at the meeting on the 4th September, 1746, the Minutes record:—

At this Lodge Brother Gooch was chosen Warden in ye Room of Bror. Woode decd.

The wording is rather ambiguous, but, as the Master was present at this meeting, and as previous Masters had been accustomed to choose their Wardens after election, no doubt it was the Master who chose Bro. Gooch. Although chosen in the place of the deceased Senior Warden it was the Junior Warden who actually filled that office, Bro. Gooch for the remainder of the year officiating as Junior Warden. Bro. Gooch had, earlier in the year, acted as Deputy Junior Warden on three occasions. In the absence of the Master, Thomas Johnson invariably occupied the Chair. There were no occasional Lodges this year.

The Minutes for the 7th May, 1747, contain an entry that has no counterpart in any later record. The entry runs:—

The Revd. Mr. John Arnham was proposed to be admitted an Honorary Brother of this Lodge And a Ballot being taken a Majority appeared for his Admission and Brother Slark and Brother Brettingham are desired to acquaint him therewith And that he shall be admitted if he Consents the next Lodge Night.

On the 4th June he was duly "admitted a Brother of this Lodge." What exactly does this mean? He certainly became a full member, being Junior Warden, Senior Warden, and, finally, W.M. for the years 1756 and 1757. Probably it was desired to have a clergyman as a member, and he was not to be called upon to pay the new fine of £3 3s. 0d. on his admission. The Minutes give some indication that this was so, because although the Minute, recording his admission, says nothing about any fine, yet at the same meeting there is a record of the first joining member of the Lodge, which states:—

At this Lodge It was agreed that Brother Henry Brown should be admitted a Member thereof He paying his fine and he being present paid the same accordingly.

We may note, in passing, that Brother Henry Brown was apparently admitted without ballot.

On the 21st May, 1747, a Masters' Lodge was held, and is recorded thus:—

Pursuant to a former Order was held a Masters Lodge And a Solemn Conference was had on that Occasion.

Eight members were present, including the two Wardens, but the Master was not present. From the names of the members recorded as being present we

can say that the Lodge could not have been for Brethren who had been Masters of the Lodge but must have been for Master Masons.

On the 3rd December, 1747, we have the first and only record as to work being done in the Lodge other than the ceremonies of the three Degrees. At the meeting on this date it is recorded:—

It is ordered that from henceforth there shall be a Regular Examination at every monthly Meeting of this Lodge.

There were two occasional Lodges held during 1747, in addition to the twelve regular meetings, at both of which candidates were proposed and ballotted for. At the one on the 14th December it was "also agreed That Brother Jollings and Brother Ivory be raised Masters at next St. John's Night." This is the first use of the term "Raised Masters," and hereafter it becomes the set phrase. Thomas Johnson again acted as Deputy Master whenever the Master was absent, which was seven times this year.

The meeting held on St. John's Day, 27th December, 1747, was attended by eighteen members, one visitor and one candidate for Masonry. Two Brethren were raised Masters, and one candidate was initiated. We also learn that the election and installation of the Master was still taking place on the same day. The record of the meeting runs thus:—

At this Lodge before the Brethren proceeded to the Election of a Master Brother Jollings and Brother Ivory were raised Masters pursuant to an Order made the last Lodge occasionally held 4th instant.

And immediately after The Worshipl. William Wickes by the Worshipl. Thomas Johnson his Deputy Resigned the Chair as Master of this Lodge And the Brethren desired the usual Thanks might be return'd the sd Master for his Administration.

The Chair was accordingly declared Vacant.

It was then unanimously agreed to and requested by the Brethren then present That Brother Richard Twiss would take the Chair for the ensuing Year who being present readily accepted the same and was placed therein accordingly in due form.

Brother Twiss then Return'd his Thanks to this Lodge for the Great Honour Conferred upon him.

The said Master then according to the Antient Right inherent in him and well knowing the abilities of Brother Page and Brother Jollings Did Elect and Chuse them Wardens of this Lodge for the Year ensuing who being present readily accepted the same And did also Appoint Brother Ward Secretary and Treasurer for the said Year.

Mr. Alderman Goodman was then admitted a Brother of this Lodge pursuant to an Order made at an Occasional Lodge held the 4th of Decr. instant.

Amongst the members present at the meeting just recorded were three who were not then Master Masons, the records showing that they were raised Masters at later dates. It will be observed that the Minutes do not show the exclusion of these members whilst the two Brothers were raised Masters, but no doubt they were.

On the 4th February, 1748, the Lodge received its first recorded presents, and the Minutes state:—

Robert Jollings having made and presented the Frames of the Pictures of His Royall Highness Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cumberland to this Lodge—The Thanks of the sd Lodge were in due form this night given him for the same.

Brother Jollings was present that evening, and the thanks "in due form" doubtless took the form of a Health given and drunk in the manner of Masons. This entry in conjunction with one in the Minute Book of the Old Kings Arms

Lodge in 1750, which records the purchase of a picture of "our Royal Brother the Duke of Cumberland, equal to that of the Prince of Wales," gives colour to the statement in *Multa Paucis* that the Duke was a Freemason.

As already stated, the election of candidates was by a majority only, although it is occasionally stated that the candidate was elected unanimously. However, on the 3rd November, 1748, this was altered, and we are told by the Minutes of that meeting that:—

At this Lodge It is unanimously agreed That no person shall hereafter be admitted a Member thereof witht. the Unanimous Consent of the Brethren belonging to the same.

The Minutes from this date until July, 1750, are little more than a record of the Members present, the election and installation of new Masters, and the appointment by them of the Officers. On the 5th July, 1750, however, we have recorded another Invitation to the Brethren of the Lodge, this time by one of themselves. The record states:—

Order'd. That Bror. Royall summons the Brethren of this Lodge, to meet Bro. Ald: John Goodman at the King's Head, at Brooke, upon Thursday, the 26th Instant.

At this date, many of the houses at Brooke, a small village six miles from Norwich, were occupied as summer retreats by gentlemen residing in Norwich. There was no Lodge meeting at Brooke at this or any subsequent date, and the visit was no doubt in the nature of a Summer Outing. We may note that it was still the duty of the landlord to send out the Summonses to the Brethren, Bro. Royall being then the landlord of the Angel Tavern, where the Brethren were meeting.

On the 27th December, 1750, the Degree of a "fellow Craft" is mentioned for the first time, and on the 7th February, 1751, it is recorded in the Minutes as follows:—

Order'd that Brothr. Goodman and Brothr. Ireland be admitted fellow Crafts and rais'd Masters ye next Lodge night.

From the 3rd November, 1748, when the Lodge resolved that the election of all candidates had to be unanimous, there had been no initiations, and no Brethren had joined the Lodge. That this was no mere coincidence may be taken for granted if we read between the lines of the Minutes of the meeting held on the 7th March, 1751. These Minutes state:—

Whereas at a Lodge held Novr. ye 3d. 1748 it was unanimously agreed that no person should be admitted a Member thereof without ye unanimous Consent of ye Brethren of ye same, which order has been found to be inconvenient, for Remedy whereof, it is agreed by a Majority of ye members of this Lodge by a Ballot duly taken, that ye said order be repeal'd and that for ye future any person who shall be propos'd to be admitted a Brother, shall be admitted a member thereof by ye Consent of ye Majority of ye Brethren present at any regular Lodge upon a Ballot for that purpose to be taken, unless any member shall shew sufficient Cause to be allow'd of by the Majority of this Lodge, paying ye Fine of three Guineas if but one Candidate, and if two or more then ye sum of two Guineas for each.

On the 4th April, 1751, the Lodge goes into mourning on the occasion of the death of the Prince of Wales, and the Minutes of the meeting held on that day record as follows:—

It is order'd by this Lodge that on the late death of his Royall Highness the Prince of Wales who was a Brother Mason and Master of a Lodge, that the Ribbands belonging to ye Jewells worn by ye Master, Wardens and Secretary of this Lodge be black and worn by them during ye general

mourning in commemoration of the great Loss the Fraternity have sustain'd on this Melancholly occasion.

Whether this was the general form of Masonic mourning at that period I am unable to say: perhaps the records of other Lodges may disclose facts sufficient to enable some conclusion to be reached.

The Minutes of the meeting on the 8th August, 1751, record:—

It is agreed that a Masters Lodge be held on Sunday ye 18th and that Summons be sent on Fryday ye 16th.

The Masters' Lodge was duly held, the Master, the Junior Warden and four Brethren attending. No visitors were present, and there is no record of anything happening on that occasion. None of the members of the Lodge were raised Masters. It was the first recorded occasion on which the Masters' Lodge was held on a Sunday, and it is the last special Masters' Lodge recorded in the Minutes. There had been no Masters' Lodges recorded between the one held on the 21st May, 1747, and the one now dealt with. All raisings had, in the interval, taken place on St. John the Evangelist's Day, with the exception of two on the 7th March, 1751. It was not, however, until July, 1755, that this custom was abandoned, and the Third Degree conferred on any regular Lodge night. When the Third Degree was conferred on St. John's Day the ceremony seems always to have preceded the election of the new Master.

On St. John's Day, 1751, the Master appointed "Brothr. Johnson his Deputy" in addition to the two Wardens and the Secretary. This is the only occasion that any such appointment was made, and appears to have been personal to Bro. Johnson, the Father of the Lodge.

On the 27th December, 1752, "Pursuant to an Order last Lodge Night Bro. Willm. Mingay was rais'd Master." This Brother was initiated on the 14th March, 1751, and had attended ten Lodge meetings in the interval. There is no record of his having been passed a Fellow Craft, but as no ceremonies are recorded during that same period it may well be that the Secretary omitted to note the fact in the Minutes. Immediately after he had been raised a Master on the 27th December, 1752, Bro. Mingay was appointed Senior Warden of the Lodge by the incoming Master, and twelve months afterwards was elected Master of the Lodge. During the reign of Bro. Mingay, in 1754, a new principle seems to have been adopted for filling the Chair in the absence of the Master. The Master was absent from four meetings and on three of those occasions the Chair was taken by Robert Jollins, who was Master the preceding year. On the fourth occasion Bro. Jollins was absent, and the Chair was then taken by a senior Past Master. Bro. Johnson had apparently resigned his membership of the Lodge in 1753, as he is shown as a visitor on the 7th June, 1753. This may account for the change of method just indicated. On the 27th December, 1754, we find, for the first time, the entry of "P^r. Master," "Pas Master" or "Past Master" in the Minutes, the name of the Brother holding that office coming sometimes immediately after the two Wardens but sometimes in front of them.

On the 4th April, 1754, there is recorded in the Minutes the resignation of a member. This is the first time the withdrawal of a member from the Lodge is mentioned by the Secretary, the custom previously having been for the member's name to cease to be mentioned. The Minute referred to is as follows:—

Order'd That Brother Ivory at his own Request be erased out of the List of this Lodge which was accordingly done.

In the List at the commencement of the Minute Book we find the name of Thomas Ivory struck out, so no doubt this was formally done by the Secretary in open Lodge on that evening, as recorded in the Minutes.

The Minutes for the meeting on the 27th December, 1754, mention the "Tyler of the Lodge" for the first time. His name is placed at the end of the List of Members present. There is no record of his appointment, and at

the subsequent appointment of Officers by the New Master the Tyler is not referred to in any way. At this meeting two Brethren were made. The Minutes are as follows:—

After the Makeing and Supper The Master after returning Thanks to ye Brethren demitted.

Then was rechose Nem: Con: for ye year ensuing

Then chose his Officers, The Revd. Mr. Jno. Arnham Senr. Warden Mr. Heny. Brown Junr. Warden Mr. Thos. Craske Secretary.

Then the Mastr. delegated his Power to the Senr. Warden to sit as Master in his absence, the Junr. Warden to act as Senr. and the Senr. Warden to appoint a Junr. for that night.

Then a Committee Ordrd to be viz:—

Jno. Nuthall Esqr.	}	&	{	Rev. Mr. J. Arnham
Mr. Aldm. Goodman				Mr. Thos. Craske
Mr. Robt. Jollings				Mr. Wm. Wicks
Mr. Robt. Page				

or five of them of which Jno. Nuthall Esq. Mr. Aldm. Goodman to be two, To Audit the Secretary's Accts. and make a Report next lodge night

Order'd That the Mastr give to the Grand Lodge at next Quarterly Communicatn. Two Guineas for Charity.

This record gives a little further light into the order of procedure of the Lodge, and tells us of the adjournment for supper before the election and installation of the New Master. This is the first time that the outgoing Master is re-chosen for a second period, and it is also the first time that the Senior Warden is empowered to sit as Master of the Lodge. Except during the year 1751, when he was Master, Bro. Richard Ward had been Secretary since 1748, hence the necessity for an Audit. The reference to Charity is the first mention in the Minutes of any donation for the general charity of Grand Lodge.

The Audit Committee duly reported to the Lodge at the next meeting held on the 6th February, 1755, and the Minutes state:—

Persuant to ye Ord'r. of the Last Lodge ye Committee meet and it appear to ye said Committee That ye Lodge is indebtd. to Bror. Craske £4-0-0. It is ye oppinion of ye Committee that ye above Sum of Four Pounds should be rais'd by the Sixteen Old Mambers, by payment of five shillings each.

And the Committee haveing Settled ye Acct. of Brother Richd. Ward and there appear to be Due to ye Lodge one Pound eight sillings and 8d. which was paid into ye Hands of Bror. Craske also ye sum of seven shillings Due from Bror. Brettingh^m. which is to be paid to the said Bror. Craske and that Bror. Craske pay ye Charge of this Eveng. Expence being £0-14s-5d.

Sighn'd	John Nuthall	Jno. Arnham
	Jno. Goodman	Robt. Jolling
	James Carlos	Thos. Craske

The Committee haveing made there report it was Unanimously agreed to by this Lodge, and a payment of 5sh. each immediately enter'd into by ye Old Members then present.

It will be noted that James Carlos—the then Father of the Lodge—who signed the report had not been appointed on the Committee.

On the 1st May, 1755, after the names of the members and a visitor, we find "Wm. Smart Tyler of ye Lodge." Presumably this was only a temporary appointment, because, on the following 3rd July, we find "Richd. Wynn Tyler," the Brother mentioned as Tyler on the previous 27th December. There seem to have been two Occasional Lodges on the 20th May, 1755, at the first of which we learn that:—

At an Occassionall Lodge held this Day at ye Request of Bror. Chamber by Letter to ye Master, Edwd. Osborn Esqr. and Mr. Wm. Parish were propos'd to be admitt'd Brethren of this Lodge, &c.

The reason for the second is shown from the Minutes, which record:—

At this Lodge Bror. Twiss a former Member of this Lodge Desir'd to be Readmitted a Member thereof a Ballot was taken and Unanimous agreed to.

On the 15th July, 1755, we find the following Minute:—

At an Occassionall Lodge held this Day agreed, Persuant to a former Ordr. in this Book ye Master send up ye two Guineas for Charity to ye Quarterly Com: ye 24th Instant and to Subscribe for a New Constitution Book for ye use of the Lodge;

and also:—

It was furthr. agreed to hold an Occassionall Lodge on Munday ye 28 Instt. to admitt ye three above Gentlemn. Brethrn. of this Lodge and that Bro. Playter & Bro. Money be rais'd Master & Bror. Dawson pass Fellow Craft, Ordr. that there be New Aprons for ye Master Wardens & lvn'd wth. white & white Ribbons for ye Jewels & the other Aprons to be Clean'd or Chang'd.

The Occasional Lodge was duly held, and we find that, in addition to the work specified in the Minute above quoted, Edward Osborne was "Pass Fellow Craft & Rais'd Master." At this Lodge, for the first time, a candidate was proposed, the ballot being deferred to the following regular meeting.

On the 6th November, 1755, two matters of interest came before the Lodge, and we are told by the Minutes:—

It was Unanimously agreed at this Lodge to advance 18d. a piece to pay ye Master the money he has laid out for ye Lodge. & further agreed that no Person be admitted a Member of this Lodge Under three Guineas, Except he pays the Deposit for two Years & then to be admitted for two Guineas, if two persons; if only one person admitted three Guineas & the deposit as above.

On the 4th December, 1755, Bro. James Money acted as Deputy Secretary for the first time, and the Minutes inform us that "Bro. Money for actg. as Deb. Paid a Bottle being first time." At the same meeting the Lodge ordered that "a Supper should be provided for 24 at 1sh. each" for the Lodge to be held on St. John's Day, 27th December, 1755. At this same meeting in December the following resolution was also passed:—

At this Lodge it was agreed that every Visiting Bror. should pay two Shillings for his Admittance.

The Resolution passed by the Lodge on the 6th November came up for further discussion at an Occasional Lodge held on the 19th December, 1755, and the Minutes record:—

At this Lodge the last Rule made in regard to the Terms a new Bror. is to be Admitted is confirmed Except he be Admitted on St. John's Night & then but 2 Guineas if made Singly.

This alteration was obviously made to enable Mr. Robert Lulman, who was ballotted for and elected at this Occasional Lodge, to be made a Mason on the following 27th December at the lower fee.

The year now closed was a busy one for the Lodge. There were seven Occasional Lodges, at six of which candidates were proposed and ballotted for, while at the remaining Occasional Lodge all three degrees were worked.

At the meeting on the 27th December, 1755, all three degrees were worked by the outgoing Master prior to the election of the new Master. On this occasion the order in which they were taken was apparently Initiation, Passing and Raising, and not as previously noted.

On the 27th December, 1756, the Minutes, after recording that the outgoing Master was "rechose for ye year Ensueing," and the appointment by him of his officers, close with the following:—

It was then agreed to send up two Guineas to the Committe of Charity to be Rais'd at 2sh. each p'son.

Agreed if the New Constitution Book is not Deliv'd to the lodge by May Day Bro. Mingay to pay 5/-.

The Minutes of the meeting on the 6th October, 1757, inform us that:—

Upon a Motion made It is Ordered By the unanimous Consent of this Lodge that Francis Fayerman's Name be struck out of the List of the Members of this Lodge.

What gave rise to this resolution we are not told, but on referring to the List of Members at the beginning of the Minute Book we find the name of 'Fras. Ferman' struck through, and in the margin is written "entirely eras'd."

On the 27th December, 1757, two Brethren were raised Masters, and then a candidate for Masonry was admitted a Brother of the Lodge and afterwards made a Fellow Craft.

On the 2nd February, 1758, finance occupied the attention of the Lodge, and we find it recorded that:—

It was this night agreed to send up to ye Committe of Charity 2 Guineas & to Enter into a Subscription of 2/- each for ye Sum & to beg ye favour of Bro. Pew to attend ye Committe with ye Cash & for ye futur to enter into a halfe year Subscriptn. of 8/- instead of 7/-.

On the 4th May, 1758, we find that the Senior Warden sat at Deputy Master in the absence of the W. Master, although he had never passed the Chair in this, or, as far as I can learn, any other Lodge. There is no record of any ceremony being performed that evening.

In pursuance of an Order by the Lodge at its September meeting, that a Special Lodge be summoned for Tuesday evening, the 12th September, 1758, a meeting was held, and it is recorded as follows:—

At an Occationall Lodge held this night psuant to an Ordr. of the Lodge held ye 6th Instant is Agreed if Mrs. Royall leaves this House to Remove the Lodge to ye Tunns ye House of Edw. Riches.

As the following meeting, held on the 5th October, is headed "Tunns Lodge" we may assume that Mrs. Royall left the Angel Inn, which she must have carried on after the death of her husband, Bro. James Royall. Edward Riches never became a member of the Lodge, and there is no record that he ever attended the Lodge as a visitor.

On the 27th December, 1758, the Minutes, after recording the members present, state: "Vsg. Br. J. Harrison admittd. a Member of this Lodge paid ye usual fine." There is no record of this Brother ever having been proposed, or ballotted for, at any previous meeting.

The year 1759 was a very important one for Norfolk Freemasonry, and in the Minutes of this Lodge we find mention of facts in relation to the appointment of Edward Bacon as the First Provincial Grand Master of Norfolk, and his getting the Norwich Lodges under his control. At a meeting of the Lodge held on the 23rd July, 1759, the Minutes record:—

At an Occationall Lodge held this day its agreed ye Master waits on E. Bacon Esq., to Request his Company next Lodge night he being appoint'd Provintial Grandmaster.

On the following 2nd August, Edward Bacon visited the Lodge, and the Minutes record as follows:—

This Day Edwd. Bacon Esqr. attendd. this Lodge produced his Deputation being appointed Provincial Grand Master.

Desir'd to be admitted a Membr. of this Lodge which was accordingly Granted.

Ordd. all ye Masters of all Lodges in ye Town be Summon'd to attend ye Provincial Grand Master ye 6th Sept. (being Lodge night) at this Lodge.

On the 6th September the Lodge met; Edward Bacon was present as Provincial Grand Master, and the record of the meeting appears in the Minute Book as follows:—

Persuant to ye Ord'r of the last Lodge the Masters of the Severall Lodges Meet

Masters	{	Phillip Tooley	of ye	Bear Lodge
		Jno. Ebbetts		King's Head
		Thos. Davey, Depy.		Maids Head
		Wm. Preston		Rampt. Horse
		Robt. Wright		Castle & Lion
		John Hook		Chequer
		Jno. Nickless		Shuldr. Mutton
		Ben. Gurney		Flower in Hand
		Jno. Wright		Dove
		Jno. Hock, Depy.		Unicorn
		Wm. Lamb		Cock St. Maryes

At this Lodge it was agreed that a Quarterly Communication should be Held on ye first Fryday next after ye Quarter day. The first Meeting to be at this Lodge on Fryday ye 5th of October & every Subsequent quartrly Communication to be held by Rotation at ye Severall Lodges in this City according to Seniority, & if ye Masters & Wardns. of any Lodge shall think ye Room in which there Lodge is comonly held too small for so large a Company then shuch Mastrs. & Wardens appoint where it shall be held in ye stead of shuch Lodge.

The Master of ye Lodge where ye next Quarly. Meeting shall be Appointed to be held, to send out ye Summons for that Purpose.

On the 4th October, 1759, Bro. Pye was admitted a Member of the Lodge "he paying ye usual fine a Guinea." At the next monthly meeting we also find it recorded that:—

This Night Bror. Nuthall propos'd Bror. R. Brettingham should be re-instated payin a Guinea which was agreed to.

From these two entries it is quite clear what the fee was for joining members at that period.

At the meeting on the 6th December, 1759, the new Deputy Provincial Grand Master attended, and the Minutes record:—

This Night Bro. Frank attended as Depty. Provincial Grand & took ye Chair as Shuch.

& then Desir'd to be admitted a Member of this Lodge.

Francis Frank was the brother-in-law of the Provincial Grand Master, and is shown as being a member of this Lodge in the Grand Lodge Manuscript List of 1725. At the meeting just referred to his name is recorded at the head of the Minutes, followed immediately by those of the two Wardens. The Master of the Lodge was not present that evening.

On the 27th December, 1759, after his father had been appointed Senior Warden for the ensuing year, Brother John Harrison Junior "desired to be

admitted a Member of this Lodge & on his paying ye fine it was agreed he should be admitted the next Lodge Night." This rather looks as if the usual rule of having a proposer was waived on account of his father's position in the Lodge, or perhaps the Secretary did not record the proposer.

On the 20th September, 1762, an Occasional Lodge was held at the Thatched House Tavern, Upper Westwick Street, instead of the Tunns Inn, and the following resolution was passed:—

At an Occasionall [Lodge] held this day at ye Thatch'd tavern it was agreed by ye Master & the rest of ye Brethren then present that the Lodge should be removed to this House.

The landlord of this tavern was not a Mason, and on the 4th November following the removal the Minutes state that it was ordered:—

That Rob^t. Lane be admitted a Mason as Master of this House next Lodge Night.

On the 2nd December, Robert Lane was duly "made a Mason as Master of this House." This did not constitute him a member of the Lodge, and, except for one attendance on the 27th December, 1764, there is no record of his having been present at any meeting of the Lodge until the 27th December, 1769, when he was apparently requisitioned by the four Officers of the Lodge to make a quorum of five.

In 1763 the Lodge did not meet on two of its regular stated days of meeting, and from the Minutes it is obvious that the Lodge is beginning to go downhill. Members drop out, but there is no new blood to take their place. On the 7th July, 1763, we find the following Minute recorded:—

Brother Richard Ward having absented himself from this Lodge and refused to pay his Arrears It is agreed that he shall not hereafter be considered as a Member of this Lodge or be admitted therein without paying such Arrears as are due from him.

This, however, seems to have had no effect, as there is no record of Bro. Ward having ever attended the Lodge thereafter.

Not a year now passes but we find "No Lodge held" inserted against one or more of the regular meeting days. Bro. Lane was the only initiate for over ten years, and there was only one joining member during the same period. Masters continued in office for two or even three years at a time, and the same Wardens were appointed year after year. The meetings dwindled to six in 1768, and four in 1769; and the condition of the Lodge, on the 21st April, 1769, is described in the following letter, which has been preserved in the Library at Grand Lodge:—

To Mr. French, Linnen Draper in New Bond St, London.

Worshipfull Brother,

Your Letter of the 17th March, addressed to the Master of the Lodge of Freemasons at the Thatched House, Norwich, being just come to my hands, I am desir'd by the few remaining Brethren of that Lodge, of which I am myself a Member, to write to you in answer thereto. It is with much concern I am to acquaint you that our Lodge, from the deaths of some of the Brethren, the change of residence of others, and other suchlike causes, has for some time past been in a declining state, insomuch that it at present consists of six members only—and not being able for this reason to make a due Lodge we have for some time past declined meeting, and during that time have not been nor are we at present enabled to remit a contribution towards the general Fund of Charity, as we would otherwise very readily have done. We now begin to entertain some hopes, however, that from the Addition of some new Brethren our Lodge will in a little time be revived to its former State, and altho' we flatter ourselves that from this Representation of the present state

of it we shall not be likely to suffer in the esteem or good opinion of our Most Worshipfull the Grand Master and the rest of the Brethren of the Grand Lodge, we nevertheless beg you will be pleased to assure them from us that whenever it is in our power we shall not fail in making a contribution to the General Fund of Charity, to be remitted to the Grand Lodge, and that we shall at all times most readily submit ourselves to all Rules and Orders of the same. I am, for myself and the rest of the Brethren of the Thatched House Lodge,

Worshipfull Brother,

Your affectionate Brother,

JOHN ALDHAM.

Norwich, 21st April, 1769.

A meeting of the Lodge had been held on the 19th April, when the Grand Secretary's Letter to the Master was no doubt discussed, and the Secretary instructed to make a suitable reply. There was another meeting of the Lodge on the 6th September with only five members present, and on the following 27th December the same officers were continued in office. From that date to the 8th April, 1772, the Minutes do not record any activity in the Lodge, which must have been dormant. On the last-mentioned date the Minute Book records a meeting, but only the four officers and the landlord of the Thatched House attended.

On the 27th December, 1772, a fresh effort was made to revive the Lodge, a new Master being elected, who proposed three candidates for initiation. These three were duly elected, but one of them was never made a Mason by this Lodge. At this meeting we find it ordered:—

That for the future this Lodge be held on the first Wednesday of the Month instead of Thursday.

Further candidates came along, and by St. John's Day, 27th December, 1773, there were twelve members. At Norwich, the Assizes were at that time always held at the beginning of August, and at the meeting on the 7th July, 1773, the Lodge ordered: "That the next Lodge be held on Wednesday the 11th Day of August instead of the 3rd it being Assize Week." At this meeting another present to the Lodge was notified, and the Minutes record:—

Brother John Loder having presented to this Lodge a handsome Silver Jewell Gilt to be worn by the Master. Ordered That the Thanks of this Lodge be return'd him for the same.

From the Minutes of the meeting held on the 2nd October, 1773, we learn that Brethren on becoming Joining Members of the Lodge "paid the usual fine of one Guinea." Also at that meeting the Lodge:—

Ordered That an Inventory of the Jewells and Furniture belonging to this Lodge be taken by the Secretary.

Unfortunately there does not appear to have been any report by the Secretary at any subsequent date, and no copy of the Inventory is entered into the Minute Book.

By the meeting of the 3rd November, 1773, the funds of the Lodge were in such a state that the claims of the General Fund of Charity could be attended to, and the Minutes record:—

Ordered. That the Secretary do pay into the Hands of Brother Loder one Guinea to be by him paid to the Provincial Gd. Secy. towards the General Fund of Charity.

This order was slightly varied at the meeting on the 1st December following, and there is a long Minute giving some interesting details:—

A Lodge of Quarterly Communication being appointed by Edward Bacon Esquire Provincial Grand Master to be held on Friday the 10th Instant

at the King's Head in this City and the Master of this Lodge having received a Summons to attend the same. Ordered that the Worshipfull the Master and Wardens do attend at that Quarterly Com: and pay the Contribution of one Guinea towards the Fund of Charity as ordered at the last Lodge instead of its being paid by Brother Loder.

Ordered that the Jewells worn by the Wardens and two others of Silver Gilt procured by Brother Harrison against Friday the 10th Instant.

Ordered that five new Aprons be purchased by Brother Loder for the Master and Officers of this Lodge and lined by him in a proper manner with White Silk. And that three other Aprons be likewise purchased by him for the Use of the Lodge.

Ordered that the Candlesticks belonging to the Lodge be repaired and Lackerd in a proper manner against the next Lodge Night.

On the 27th December, 1773, the Minutes record a present to the Lodge by the outgoing Master, and one or two other items of interest:—

Bro. Robt. Jollins haveing presented to the Lodge a handsome Mahogany Pedestal & Ballotting box its order thanks be return'd him for the same.

Bro. Robt. Partridge who was admitted a Member of the Lodge of St. Charles of Concord at Brunswick in Germany was admitted a Member of this Lodge & paid the usual fine of one Guinea.

Bro. Edwd. Leeds who was admd. at the King's Head Lodge in this City was Likewise admitted paying the same fine.

Order'd that for the Future the Summons be carried out by the Tylor.

At the following meeting, on the 2nd February, 1774, the Lodge "Ordered a Certificate for Bro. Partridge from this Lodge on his going abroad." This Certificate has fortunately been preserved and the following is a copy thereof (*A.Q.C.* xxvii., 143):—

CITY OF NORWICH IN ENGLAND.

THIS is to Certify whom it may concern That Mr: Robert Partridge of the City of Norwich Merchant was admitted a Member of the Lodge of Free and Accepted MASONS No: 19. held at the Thatch'd House Tavern in the said City of Norwich at a Lodge held on Monday the 27th day of December 1773. he having before been made a Mason at a Grand Lodge of Masons of St. Charles of Concord at Brunswick in Germany, and having passed his Examination in due form.

IN WITNESS whereof We the Master, Past Master, Wardens and Secretary of the said Lodge have hereunto set our Hands this 26th Day of February 1774.

JOHN DAWSON Master.

ROBT. JOLLINS P:MR.

JOHN ALDHAM S:W.

JOHN LODER J:W.

THOS. BASELEY Secy.

As I have already pointed out, one of the three candidates who were proposed upon the revival of the Lodge was never initiated. This is disclosed in the Minutes of the meeting held on the 2nd March, 1774, which state:—

Order'd That for the Contempt shown by Mr. Mathew Rackham to this Lodge that notwithstanding his being ballotted in to be made he shall not be made a Mason in this Lodge nor be admitted as a Visiting Bro. from any Lodge he may hereafter be made in.

At this meeting the next regular meeting was altered, from its proper day, by Order of the Lodge, the Resolution stating:—

Ordered . . . that the Lodge be held on Wednesday the 30th of March instead of the first Wednesday in April that being the Anniversary of the Gregorians and most of the Bretheren engaged there.

This Resolution points to the relationship between the two Societies being a close one so far as individuals were concerned. Sir Edward Astley Bart., who subsequently joined this Lodge, was Grand of the Most Ancient and Honourable Order of Gregorians in 1771 (*A.Q.C.* xxi., 91).

By now the rule was that a candidate for Masonry should be proposed on one Lodge night and ballotted for on the next, but occasionally we find that rule relaxed, but the reason is then stated. For instance, the Minutes of the meeting on the 30th March, 1774, record:—

Mr. Saml. Cully of Ludham in this County was proposed by Bro. Loder to be made a Mason in this Lodge & to be ballotted for next Lodge night. But from some perticular Circumstances the Master Wardens & Bretheren then present consented as he was so well recommended that a ballot should be then taken for him which was accordingly done & he declared Nem. Con. Order'd that he have notice sent him to attend the first Wednesday in May next.

The Minutes of the meeting on the 6th July, 1774, record a donation to the Freemasons' Hall Fund. The Resolution states:—

Order'd that Bro. Loder transmit to the Grand Secy. £2.2.0 towards building their new Hall. At this Lodge the above bretheren paid their half years Deposit & further subscribed half a Crown each towards the two Guineas to be sent to the Grand Secy. Bro. Robt. Lane likewise subscribed his Half Crown.

On the 27th July, 1774, the Lodge passed the following Resolution:—

Order'd in future that no Supper be provided for the Bretheren except at the makeing of a new Brother at the Expençe of the Lodge at all other times each Brother orders what he like to have and pays for it seperately.

Brother Simon Browne, a Writing Master by profession, made the next presentation to the Lodge, and the Minutes, for the 7th September, 1774, record:—

Brother Browne haveing presented the Lodge with an Elegant Coppy of a Summons for attendance it is Order'd that the Thanks of this Lodge be return'd him for the same & that it be engraved at the Expençe of the Lodge.

At the meeting on 27th December, 1774, the new W.M. appointed Bro. Edward Heath Senr. Junior Warden. At this date he was only a Fellow Craft, and was not raised Master until the 13th February, 1775. In the absence of the Junior Warden, on the 30th January, 1775, his place was filled by a Brother who was only an Entered Apprentice.

At the meeting of the Lodge on the 5th April, 1775, the following Resolutions were recorded in the Minute Book:—

The Thanks of this Lodge were Ordered to be return'd to Bro. Athow, for a Lewis of curious Marble & Workmanship, presented by him to the Lodge, this Evening.

Ordered, That One Guinea be remitted by the Secretary to the Provincial Grd. Secry., towards the General Fund of Charity. Likewise that an Ansr., at ye same Time, be given the said G. S. respecting the past non-Compliance of this Lodge wth. the 6th. Article of the Resolutions of the Grd. Lodge, of Octr. 29th 1768, in Consequence of a second Resolution (recd. this Evening, by the Master, & laid before the Lodge) to erase out of the List all such Lodges as have not comply'd wth. the Resolution of the above Date, wch. stipulates a Registering Fee of 2/6 to be paid by every new-made Brother, over & above the usual Admission Fine.

On the 7th June, 1775, two candidates received all three degrees that evening, and also received "from this Lodge proper Certificates of such their Admission &c." At the same meeting the following Resolution was passed:—

It was unanimously resolv'd, at this Lodge, that, for the Future, the half Yearly Deposits, shou'd be one Guinea, instead of twelve Shillings; out of which, a Supper to be provided every Lodge-Night, under the Direction of some One of the Brethren, as Steward for the Eveng.

At the same Time it was likewise agreed, that such of the Country Brethren as do not chuse to subscribe the above Deposit, shou'd be consider'd as Visitors, & do pay three Shillings each (Supper included) when agreeable to them to attend the Lodge.

This is the first and only time that the office of Steward is mentioned in the Minutes, and from the reference we may gather that no one was appointed as a Steward for the year as the practise now is. The regulation as to Country Members probably accounts for the fact that, after Brethren have received the three Degrees as members of the Lodge, they continue to visit the Lodge from time to time, but are shown in the Minutes as visitors.

At the meeting on the 5th July, 1775, two Brethren from Continental Lodges were admitted members, and the Minutes record as follows:—

Bror. Jno. Le Moyne, from Cadiz, Merchant, and a Member of the Prince of Clermont's Lodge at Rouen, was, at this Lodge, (pursuant to the Order of June 1st) admitted a Member; &, at his own Request, took the Obligations anew.

Bror. Theodore Henry Goverts, from Hamburgh, Merch^t., Member of Alexander Drummond's Lodge, at Aleppo, was likewise admitted a Member, & rais'd Master:

Both paying the customary Fees, & receiving proper Certificates from this, & the Grand Lodge.

The granting of Lodge Certificates having become a custom of the Lodge, the want of a proper Seal is felt, and on the 4th October following we find recorded in the Minutes:—

Ordered, That a Seal, for the Use of the Lodge, be procur'd by Bror. Loder, at ye Expence of ye Brethrn.

At the same meeting it was also ordered:—

Likewise, that one Guinea be deposited with the Master, to be by him paid towards the Support of the General Fund of Charity, at the Quarterly Communication, to be held at this Lodge, on Friday next. (6th Inst.).

On the 6th December, 1775, the clothing of the Lodge is under discussion, and from the Minutes of that meeting we learn:—

Ordered, That new Ribbands, for the Jewels, be provided by Bror. Loder: And that the Aprons be exchang'd: Both at the Expence of the Lodge.

The Lodge funds could not, apparently, stand the expense of the Lodge suppers, notwithstanding the increase of the deposit. After the experiment of six months' duration, the Lodge reconsidered its previous resolution, and on the 27th December, 1775, we find:—

At this Lodge it was unanimously resolv'd to reduce the half Yearly Deposits to fifteen Shillings, each Member, Suppers excluded. And that Visiting Brethren shou'd, of Course, pay two Shillings each, on attending the Lodge, (exclusive also of Suppers) as formerly.

On the 6th March, 1776, the Minutes record that the Lodge ordered:—

That a Work intituled "Illustrations of Masonry," be purchased by the Secretary, for the Use, & at the Expence, of the Lodge.

This, of course, refers to William Preston's famous book, the first edition of which was published in 1772.

The page of the Minute Book containing the Minutes of the meeting held on the 4th December, 1776, and those of the first half of the meeting held on the 27th December following, is missing, having been torn out. There is nothing in any subsequent Minutes to show why. At the latter meeting the Minutes record:—

This Evening Brother Robt. Partridge and Brother Wm. Heath Junr. gave one Guinea each, towards the Expence of three Candlesticks, to be procur'd by the Master, for the Use of the Lodge.

At a subsequent Lodge, held on the 12th April, 1777, two other members of the Lodge gave a guinea each towards the same object. Perhaps the three candlesticks which the Master purchased, and toward which four guineas had been contributed, were second-hand ones, because the Minutes of the Lodge, held on the 5th November, 1777, inform us that:—

Ordered, That the three Candlesticks, lately purchas'd, be new-gilt, at the Expence of the Lodge.

On the 3rd December, 1777, the Lodge was visited by Eugenio Izquierdo, "Mast^r. of a Lodge; Founding Member of the Grand Lodge of the Nine Muses, at Paris; And Deputy to the Grand Master of France." At this meeting we find emergency Lodges being termed "Special" Lodges, instead of "Occasional" Lodges as heretofore.

The removal of the Lodge from the Thatched House comes up for discussion on the 6th May, 1778, and at that Lodge:—

It was Unanimously agreed by the Members present at this Lodge that the same be Removed to Mr. Thos. Tilbury's at the White Swan in St. Peter's of Mancroft in this City and that the Bretheren be Summon'd to meet there Pursuant to this Agreement the next Lodge Night and every Month after as Usual.

Thomas Tilbury is shown as having been present at the Lodge that evening as a visitor, and no doubt was asked to be present so that the Brethren could ask him any questions they might wish as to accommodation or otherwise, or perhaps as to finance. The Brethren apparently wished to start in their new premises with everything quite smart, for we also learn from the Minutes of the same evening that it was:—

Ordered, That the old Aprons be Exchang'd for New, and the Masters, Wardens, Past Master and Sectry's. be new Lin'd at the Expence of the Lodge.

The next regular Lodge was held at the White Swan in accordance with the arrangements made, the Minutes for that meeting being headed "White Swan Lodge." At this Lodge it is recorded in the Minutes that "Brother Tilbury agree'd to Provide a Supper for ten Bretheren at Ninepence each, which was Unanimously agreed to by the Bretheren present." The Waiter, Thomas Booth, was apparently not a Mason, and, therefore, at the meeting on the 1st July, 1778, we find recorded in the Minutes that:—

It was Unanimously Agreed at this Lodge, by the Members present that Thomas Booth be made a Mason, And to attend on this Lodge.

Thomas Booth was duly made a Mason on the 5th August, and Brother Thomas Tilbury was admitted a member, and paid his deposit.

On the 2nd September, 1778, the Lodge considered the appeal of the Grand Lodge for funds for the Freemasons' Hall, and the Minutes tell us:—

At this Lodge it was Unanimously Agreed to Subscribe five Pounds five Shillings towards building the New Hall.

A Special Lodge was held on the 25th September, 1778, to enable a candidate to be proposed and ballotted for, and at the same meeting it is recorded:—

It was Unanimously agreed to give Brother Greene, a Member of the Lodge No. 137, Sun, Cambridge 10s. 6d.

Two candidates were proposed at the meeting on the 4th August, 1779, and, at the foot of the Minutes, we read:—

N.B. The Bretheren to be summoned to meet precisely at 6 o'Clock, next Lodge night to take the Ballotts for the above Gentn.

On the 1st September, 1779, the Lodge again dispensed Charity, and the Minutes record:—

Ordered that One Guinea, be paid out of the Fund, to Francis Tomson, a Member of the Lodge at Sheffield.

On the 1st December, 1779, arrangements for the forthcoming St. John's Day meeting were made, and there is a note, at the end of the Minutes of this meeting, as to the hour of meeting. The note states:—

N.B. The Bretheren to be summoned to meet on St. John the 27th December, at 2 o'Clock precisely—being the annual Meeting for the Choice of Officers.

The Resolution of the 5th April, 1775, as to Registration of Members with Grand Lodge, was evidently not complied with, and no doubt further remonstrance had been made by the Grand Secretary. On the 1st March, 1780, the Lodge again endeavoured to grapple with the situation, and a Resolution is recorded as follows:—

Resolved Unanimously; That the Members of this Lodge will in future comply with the Laws of the Grand Lodge, Enacting; "That each Lodge do transmit to the Grand Secretary on or before ev'ry Grand Lodge, a Regular list of it's Members, with the Date of their Admission or Initiation, also their Ages as near as possible, together with their Titles, Professions or Trades: And that for ev'ry Person Initiated into Masonry five Shillings be Transmitted: And for each Person admitted a Member Two Shillings and Six pence: For Registering their Names &c. in the Books of the Grand Lodge."

This Resolution was duly given effect to, as, from an inspection of the "Country Register" of the Grand Lodge, it is clear that a List of Members was submitted about June, 1780, that names forgotten were submitted later, and that new members' names were transmitted from time to time.

During this period the practise of conferring the three Degrees varied, sometimes all three being given together, at other times separately. The Second and Third Degrees are also sometimes given together. Proposals and ballots are sometimes taken together, but at other times are taken at two consecutive Lodge meetings.

On the 4th April, 1781, the Lodge "Ordered a Masons Calender for the use of the Lodge." This was the Calendar which superseded the Engraved Lists, being first issued in 1775.

On the 27th December, 1782, Brother Jay Bracey, the Senior Warden, was chosen Master, but he, "in a very polite speech begged to decline the Office," and thereupon the outgoing Master was re-elected for a second term of office. Later in the evening the Minutes record that:—

Bror. Jay Bracey made the Lodge a present of an elegant Jewel to be worn by the Junior Master Mason for which he received the hearty thanks of every Member present.

What this Jewel was we cannot now say with any certainty. Bro. Bracey joined the Lodge on coming to Norwich. Before joining he is shown as a

visitor, and his Lodge is given as "3 Tuns Lodge, Portsmouth." This was Antiquity Lodge, No. 20, in 1770. There may have been a custom in that Lodge for the Junior Master Mason to hold some Office, such as Inner Guard, for instance, and hence the Jewel. In some of the Norwich Lodges, at the present day, there is an Entered Apprentices' Jewel, with which the initiate is invested during the ceremony of Initiation, and there is evidence of this custom being an old one. It may be that there is some connection between the entry in the Minutes and this custom.

On the 1st December, 1784, the Minutes record that "By Order of the Lodge thirty new Aprons were provided." This was no doubt preparatory for the Anniversary Meeting on the following St. John's Day. There were twenty-four present at this latter meeting, and the Minutes state:—

This Night the Worshipful Robert Partridge Esqr. resign'd the Chair as Master of this Lodge & receiv'd the Thanks of the Bretheren for his Unwearied Attendance & wise administration of the same, & the Chair being declar'd Vacant the Bretheren well knowing the Abilities of Bro. Jno. Browne unanimously chose him Master for the Year Ensuing & he was plac'd in the Chair accordingly in due form & return'd Thanks for the Honour conferr'd on Him. The said Master in pursuance of the Power then Vested in him & well knowing the abilities of Bro. Henry Hobart & Bro. P. A. Flindt did appoint them his Wardens for the Ensuing year & Bro. Edwd. Crane Secretary & Treasurer for the Lodge which they Thankfully Accepted.

At this Lodge a Ballot was taken for Chapman Ives Esqr. & he being declar'd Nem Con. he was immediately Initiated into the first degree of Masonry, paying the usual Fees.

This being the Annual Festival of the Lodge the Bretheren were elegantly Entertain'd by Robt. Partridge Esqr. their Master at Dinner & in the Evening the Lodge being resum'd under Jno. Browne Master it was propos'd & carried Nem. Con. that Robt. Partridge Esqr. their late Worthy Master should be requested to sit for his Portrait to be hung up in the Lodge Room as a Memorial of the great Esteem the Bretheren entertain for him & the obligations they conceive themselves under for his Polite Behaviour & constant attendance as Master for Three Successive years. Order'd that The Master the 2 Wardens & the Secretary do wait on Bro. Partridge acquainting him with the above & report his answer at the next Lodge.

This day was spent in the greatest Harmony & with that good fellowship peculiar to Masons.

At the following meeting, held on the 2nd February, 1785, the Minutes state:—

At this Lodge the Master inform'd the Brethn. that Robt. Partridge Esqr. had very politely consented to their Wishes & that he would take an early opportunity of sitting to Bro. Beechey for his Portrait.

The Portrait was duly painted, and on the 2nd March, 1785, the Minutes tell us:—

At this Lodge the Portrait of Robt. Partridge Esqr. (Painted by Bro. Beechey) was fix'd in the Lodge Room pursuant to the Resolutions of a former Lodge & met with the Approbation of the Bretheren.

The Bro. Beechey, here referred to, was the celebrated President of the Royal Academy—Sir William Beechey—who was living at Norwich at that time. This portrait now hangs in the Hall, at No. 47, St. Giles Street, Norwich, the premises of the Norwich Masonic Association. Sir William Beechey also painted another portrait of Robert Partridge, which now hangs in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich, with the portraits of many other civic worthies and other celebrities. This latter portrait is inscribed as follows:—"This Portait of Robert Partridge Esq. who served the Office of Mayor in the year 1785 was Painted at the

Request of his Fellow Citizens, as a Public testimony of their gratitude & respect for the abilities he displayed."

The meeting on Wednesday, 6th April, 1785, is headed "White Swann Lodge No. 17." This is one of about three occasions upon which the number of the Lodge is referred to. At this meeting the following Resolution was passed:—

It is this Eveng. agreed by the Lodge to admitt Visiting Brethren in this City, & any other Strangers, upon their paying five shillings, for the Eveng. but no Brother can be admitted of this Lodge, without first taking a Ballot and if one Single Ball is against him he cannot be admitted a Subscribing Member.

Every New Bro: Mason, upon entering this Lodge No. 17, as a Subscriber to pay One Guinea.

The Provincial Grand Master, Edward Bacon, having retired from office on account of infirmities, the appointment of his successor presented some difficulty, the names of two Brethren having been submitted for the consideration of the Grand Master. The latter, apparently, declined the task of selecting one of these two, and at the meeting of the Lodge, on the 6th July, 1785, the matter came up for consideration, in consequence of a letter which had been received from the Provincial Grand Secretary. The Minutes record as follows:—

The following Letter being recd. from the P.G.S.

R.W.M., W.W. & Brethren.

The Resolution of the last P.G.L. held at the Swan on fryday Apl. 22nd, having been transmitted to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge Bro. White, requesting that the G.M. would appoint one of the Gentlemen therein mention'd P.G.M. of this Province, & the same having been duly attended to, Bro. White still continues to wish, that the Lodges of Norfolk & Norwich would present a regular Petition to the Acting G.M. in favour of that Gentleman who is most likely to attend upon the Business of the Province & who possesses the good wishes of the Brethren.

You are therefore requested to take the sense of your Lodge upon this Previous Question, Which of the two Gentlemen, the Honble. Hy. Hobart or Sir Edwd. Astley, is most likely to fill the Provincial Chair with the greatest advantage to the Craft. At the same time determining that which of those two Gentlemen has the Majority of Lodges in his favour, shall be generally esteem'd the Person proper to petition the Grand Lodge to appoint, & that wether your Lodge be of the Majority or Minority, that you signify in your answer to these Particulars, addressed to R. Partridge Esqr. your readiness to sign in the Name of your Lodge such Petition.

Signd. J. Buttivant P.G.S.

Dated June 8th 1785.

In Consequence of the above Letter it is Unanimously agreed that on the Election of the P.G.M. on the 15th Inst. the Officers shall sign the Petition to the G.L. for the appointment of that Bro. who shall have the Majority of Lodges in his favour. It is also Unanimously agreed that this Lodge do recommend our Bro. the Honble. Henry Hobart to be Grand Master of this Province.

Notwithstanding that the Lodge recommended Bro. Hobart the majority of the Lodges were in favour of Sir Edward Astley, and he was duly appointed the Provincial Grand Master. On the 23rd August, 1785, the Lodge "Unanimously elected Sir Edward Astley Bart. an Honorary Member of their Lodge." On the following 6th December the Minutes record as follows:—

Sr. Edwd. Astley Bart. P.G.M. of Norfolk and Norwich (by Bro. Partridge) this Night presented the Lodge with the last New Edition of Anderson's Constitutions elegantly Bound in Russia Leather for which the Lodge unanimously Voted him their Thanks & requested the favour

of the Master to write to Sr. Edward Astley acquainting him with the same.

This being the Nomination of Master for the ensuing year Bro. Hobart the S.W. declin'd that Honour for this time as he expected to be the greatest part of the year out of the County & assur'd the Lodge that any succeeding year he would accept it. Bro. Partridge then propos'd our Bro. Sr. Edwd. Astley as Master which was Unanimously agreed to & the present Master desir'd to inform Sr. Edward of the same.

This is the first time that the Minutes record that the new Master is nominated at the meeting previous to the Anniversary Meeting on St. John the Evangelist's Day. He was not elected then, because we are told by the Minutes for the 27th December, 1785, that:—

Bro. Partridge Propos'd Sr. Edwd. Astley Bart. as Master of the Lodge for the ensuing Year & he was unanimously elected by the Brethren.

Sir Edward Astley was not present that evening, and, for the first time since the Minutes start in 1743, the new Master was not placed in the Chair on St. John's Day in Winter. For this purpose a special Lodge was held on the 21st January, 1786, and the Minutes state:—

At this Special Lodge held by desire of the Worshipful Sr. Edwd. Astley Bart. Master, He being plac'd in the Chair was pleas'd to continue the Officers of the Lodge as before viz. Honble. Henry Hobart S. W. Paul Anthony Flindt J.W. & Edwd. Crane Secy.

At the meeting of the Lodge, held on the 1st February, 1786, we are told by the Minutes that:—

Bro. Eaden of Sheffield having presented the Lodge with an elegant pair of Masonic Snuffers it was order'd that the Thanks of the Lodge should be transmitted to him by the Secy.

Bro. Eaden was apparently a member of Lodge No. 72 (Antients) which met at Sheffield.

On the 6th December, 1786, the Hon. Henry Hobart accepted the nomination of the Lodge, as the Master for the ensuing year, but the Minutes record that he signified:—

That as it was impossible for him to attend on St. Johns Day, he could wish if it met with the concurrence of the Brethn. that the anniversary of the Lodge might be kept the first Wednesday in January, which was unanimously agreed to, & Notices order'd to be given to the absent Brethn.

For the first time, since the Minutes open, St. John's Day in Winter passed by without the Lodge meeting. Whatever the day of the week was, the Lodge had previously met on that day, and one is sorry to see the old custom die out because two such Masons as Sir Edward Astley and the Hon. Henry Hobart would not give up other engagements.

In 1787 the meeting in August was held on the Second Wednesday in August, because the usual meeting night was in the Assize week, and at the meeting in September the Lodge resolved that:—

Next Lodge first Thursday in Octobr. on acct. of the Assembly on the Wednesday.

At the meeting on the 5th March, 1788, we find the following Resolutions recorded in the Minutes:—

Brother Clover having been ballotted a Member of this Lodge was applied to for the usual fee which being refus'd the brethren were under the necessity of rejecting him.

A needy Brother being recommended to the notice of this Lodge it was Ordered, that he be reliev'd with 10/6 which was accordingly paid him by the D. Sec.

The Tyler, Edward Norton, who was apparently first appointed in that capacity on the 27th December, 1775, is the subject of one or two of the Minutes. On the 1st October, 1788, we read:—

Norton the Tyler being dangerously ill it was Order'd, that he be reliev'd wth. 5/- p. week till next Lodge.

At the Special Lodge held on October 29th the Lodge:—

Order'd That the Charitable resolution of last Lodge respecting Norton our afflicted Tyler be continued till the next Meeting.

Similar Resolutions are recorded in the Minutes for each meeting until that of the 4th March, 1789, when we find on the Minutes:—

Order'd the payment of Norton's funeral expences.

The 27th December, 1788, passed without a Lodge meeting on that day, the Lodge having, on the previous 3rd December, resolved:—

That St. John's day be kept on the first Wednesday in January—Dinner on Table precisely at three o'clock.

On the 3rd June, and the 2nd December, 1789, both regular meeting days, we learn from the Minutes that special "Convened" Lodges were held at noon for the purpose of balloting for candidates who were subsequently duly initiated at the regular meeting held in the evening. Each mid-day meeting was termed a "Convened Lodge," and the Minutes of that on the 3rd June conclude, after recording the successful ballots, with the following note:—

after which the Lodge was clos'd till the Evening.

The last meeting recorded in the Minute Book is that held on the 2nd December, 1789. Immediately in front of the Minutes of this meeting is a copy of a letter written by the Grand Secretary, Bro. Wm. White, and dated 26th September, 1783. This letter was, no doubt, copied into that page at the time for reference. It runs thus:—

Right Worshipful Sir,

As many petitions for Charity come from your part I am directed to acquaint you of the intention strictly to abide by and inforce the laws made for the regulation of the Charity; particularly, in not relieving any who do not in their petition set forth when & where they were made, that it may be seen if they have been regularly registered & their fees paid which is absolutely necessary to entitle them to the benevolence of the Society—And their recommendations must also declare, that they have been three years a subscribing Member of a contributing Lodge. These particulars you will please to make known to the Lodges within your province to prevent unnecessary applications & disappointments to poor objects.

The last pages of the Minute Book are filled with the continuation of the List of Members from the beginning of the Book. This latter List was evidently commenced at the resuscitation of the Lodge in 1773, as it commences with the six old members. This List of Members is carried on beyond the date of the last Minute, and from it we learn that the Lodge continued its activity, although no Minutes of its meetings are preserved. The last name recorded in this list is that of Lieut. Robert Brooke, 30th Foot, who was initiated in the Lodge on the 4th December, 1793.

From the records of Unanimity Lodge, No. 102, we learn that, on the 17th October, 1793, members of the Lodge went over to Coltishall, a small village seven miles from Norwich, and assisted at the Consecration of a new

Lodge Room, at the King's Arms Inn, by the Provincial Grand Master of Norfolk. The Minute Book of the Unanimity Lodge gives the Order of the Procession from the Lodge Room to the Church, and the Lodge is given its proper place as senior Lodge of the Province. The Master of the Lodge carried "the Bible, Compass and Square on a rich velvet Cushion with gold Fringe and Tassells." By checking the List of Members and Visitors attending I can trace eight members of the Maid's Head Lodge being present. This number included Sir Edward Astley, the Provincial Grand Master, the Hon. Henry Hobart, Superintendent of R.A. Masonry, and six others, of whom one was a member of Unanimity Lodge.

In the "Country Register to 1813" in Grand Lodge Library there are names of Masons who were initiated in, or joined, the Lodge up to 1797, the last name recorded being "Peter Warren Lambeth, Lieu^t. in ye 9th Foot, Norwich, init^d. 4 May, 1797."

In the Norwich Directory, by Thomas Peck, published in 1802, there is a List of the "Regular Lodges of Free Masons." This Lodge is first on the List, and is given thus:—"No. 16, White Swan, St. Peter's Norwich, the first Wednesday in the Month, Constituted May 11, 1724." At this date the landlord of the White Swan was Thomas Mountney, who is stated in the Country Register to have been made a Mason in the Lodge on the 5th December, 1792. He is also shown in the List of Members at the end of the Minute Book as being made on that day.

On the 14th January, 1802, General William Earle Bulwer, who had been initiated in the Lodge on the 23rd August, 1785, was installed Provincial Grand Master of the Province by Sir Roger Kerrison, under a Deputation from the Earl of Moira, the Acting Grand Master. The ceremony took place at the White Swan Inn, St. Peter's. The Maid's Head Lodge was the only Lodge meeting at that inn at this date, and Bro. Hamon le Strange states that "the occasion of his installation was the last Meeting in connection with the premier Lodge of Norfolk, which died out shortly afterwards at the White Swan" (*Freemasonry in Norfolk*, p. 267).

A sum of £1-1-0, in April, 1802, was the last payment received by the Grand Lodge from the Maid's Head Lodge, and nothing further has been traced in the Records of Grand Lodge concerning the affairs of this Lodge until its erasure by Grand Lodge in February, 1809.

In the Directory of the City of Norwich, published by C. Berry Junr., in 1811, the Lodge still heads the list of "Eleven Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons." The description is identical with that in the 1802 Directory, so it may, perhaps, have been copied from that or a later Directory, without enquiry as to whether the Lodge still existed or not.

On the 12th February, 1812, the Warrant of the Maid's Head Lodge was assigned to the Lodge of Rectitude, then being constituted at the Crown Inn, Market Place, Westbury, in Wiltshire, with the No. 632 in the Grand Lodge "Registry of the list of Lodges." This Warrant (*inter alia*) recites:—

And whereas the Brethren resident at Norwich who composed the said Lodge had for many years neglected to communicate with the Grand Lodge or to contribute to the Funds of the Society agreeable to the Laws of Grand Lodge and for which neglect they were apprized by repeated Notices from the Grand Secretary that they would incur the censure of the Grand Lodge but to such Notices they paid no attention the Grand Lodge did therefore on the 10th day of February 1809 for such neglect and contempt declare the Brethren residing at Norwich to have forfeited their Right and Title to the Warrant of Constitution of the said Lodge.

My tale is now told. I have endeavoured to extract from the old Minute Book everything that could, by any possibility, be of interest to the Masonic Student, and in doing so I have tried to treat the records from a general rather than a local aspect. There are, doubtless, many Lodge customs and practices

to which I have not alluded in the course of this Paper. The reason for such omissions is invariably because the Minutes do not disclose any facts bearing upon such matters. For instance, no accounts of expenses are given. There is no mention of either Deacon, or Inner Guard. Only one Tyler is mentioned at a time. There is no record of any Stewards having been regularly appointed. There is nothing to show the details of any of the Ceremonies of the three Degrees, nor whether prayers were used, nor in what manner the Lodge was either opened or closed. There is no reference to "Antient Masons" as such, nor were any Regulations passed dealing with the problem. There is no reference to any fines having been inflicted, nor, apparently, was any Candidate black-balled. The Lodge seems to have been conducted with the utmost harmony and goodwill, and one can only regret that a Lodge with such an ancient and happy record should have been allowed to die out.

In the Appendices which follow I have endeavoured to collect as much information as possible concerning not only the Members of the Lodge, but also its Visitors.

Finally, let me express a hope that many of the extracts I have given from the Minute Book of this old Lodge may prove to be of more than local interest, and that their recital has not been wearisome to the Brethren present this evening. I also hope that the publication of this Paper in the printed *Transactions* of the Lodge may lead to further information being forthcoming as to many of those Masons who first saw Masonic light in the Maid's Head Lodge: a Lodge which was the premier Lodge in Norfolk during the eighteenth century, and also one of the oldest Lodges in England.

GILBERT W. DAYNES.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

The great charm and the great value of the paper we have just heard lie in the first-hand evidence it affords of Lodge work at a period when the ceremonies of the Craft were certainly being conducted on lines very different from those with which we are familiar to-day. My remarks to-night, therefore, will be mainly addressed to various indications which point towards certain conclusions; and I may add that while, for the sake of clarity, I have committed my opinions to paper, I am by no means sure that it would be desirable to see them in print, and our Secretary will have to exercise his discretion in lopping off what should remain unpublished.

On the 6th December, 1744, the Lodge unanimously agreed to make two Brethren Masters. It was the custom in many Lodges at this period and for long after, that the candidates for the degree of Master Mason should stand a ballot before they could be raised. The unanimous agreement in this case was obviously the Norwich Lodge's substitute for this formality—and I think we may take it that a phrase which is familiar to us to-day is a relic of the Lodge having to be unanimously of opinion as to the candidate being worthy of promotion. I think it would not be hard to show that the proficiency test was established at least as early as this date. The earliest Minute expressly describing such a test would be an interesting thing to note in this connexion; I have not had leisure to make a search, and consequently the year 1780 is the earliest I can offer now, but I believe we could get a very much earlier reference than that. We should not forget, however, that as such a test was decidedly an esoteric matter, our early Brethren may have been too scrupulous to record such a proceeding in their Minutes.

There is nothing surprising in not being able to discover a Minute in this book recording the conferring of the F.C. degree on Brother Gooch, who was to be raised Master. The two first degrees as we have them now, were in

the majority of Lodges for very, very many years later than this date conferred together, and, in my opinion, they were considered as really composing one. I have not looked up the reference, but I think I am right in saying that the Lodge of Antiquity up to 1762 invariably gave them together: and you will remember that this Time Immemorial Lodge is said never to have changed its working all through a period when our ceremonies were undergoing a certain amount of revising. I need not elaborate this point, as some of us attended the last Prestonian lecture, and I daresay Bro. Vibert will have a few words to say on the matter.

We might perhaps make a special note of the election of the W.M. for a year on the 27th December. I need hardly remind you that one of the charges laid against the Modern Masons was that they had neglected the due observance of St. John's Days, and also that the Antients installed twice a year on those festivals. I think this was one of the differences in practice which seemed much more serious to our eighteenth-century Brethren than to us.

The Masters' Lodge which met on 21st May, 1747, gives a suggestive entry. We are told that the Master was not present, and that the meeting must have been for Master Masons. But are we justified in assuming that the Master Mason's degree in those days contained no more than we connect with it now? In my opinion, it contained a great deal more; the very words "solemn conference" suggest a special meeting of some kind. I think we get some further indications that Masonic knowledge in those days did not always move in exactly the same steps as to-day in the Minute of 27th June, 1754; on that occasion the Master "delegated his power to the S.W. to sit as Master in his absence." This was an old Masonic custom, as every reader of the early *Constitutions* knows, and, though now obsolete, we still find its fossil remains in a charge to the Wardens, which states that in the absence of the Master they may be called to higher duties. This is one of the instances in which our extant Reconciliation working has preserved a relic of the very earliest old English ritual, and the point seems worth noting as tending to prove that certain phrases much older than 1817, aye, or than 1717, have been preserved by our great Schools of Instruction, whose services to the Craft for over a century deserve the heart-felt admiration and support of every student of Freemasonry.

To come back to this Minute we are discussing: it is generally assumed, of course, that from about 1730 on the Moderns had no esoteric ceremony of Installation; I understand that Bro. Wonnacott holds a different opinion, and the statement is certainly fallacious as regards certain Modern Lodges, those in Bristol for example: other Modern Lodges, however, certainly seem to have lost it during the eighteenth century and had to be reinstructed after 1809. Now I think it is worth considering, whether such passages as the Minute under consideration do not suggest that the Master Mason's degree according to the Modern system contained all the essentials of their Chair degree. I will even put Laurence Dermott in the box. He said that the Modern Master Mason carried "a square pendant to his right leg," which I believe has a meaning in exact accordance with this suggestion that it was more comprehensive than the Antient Master Mason's degree. The interesting question, if we accept the theory, is then: was the Modern Master Mason's degree the result of an amalgamation, or of a refraining from splitting up the original degree in the same way as was undoubtedly done with what we now know as the E.A. and F.C. degrees? The latter, that is a splitting up, seems to me the more probable; and I have almost convinced myself as to the district and period that produced these developments, and I should look towards the West for light in this instance.

Again, we get a very interesting esoteric reference in the letter of 21st April, 1769, stating that the Lodge consists of no more than six members "and not being able for this reason to make a due Lodge we have for some time past declined meeting." A "due Lodge" here is evidently a synonym for "perfect Lodge." We all remember the phrase in one of our examinations, "a Lodge just, perfect and regular," but as for some reason our English

catechism does not go into details, will you allow me to quote to you the invariable catechism pursued in another Constitution:—Where were you made a Mason? etc. Why just? etc. Why perfect? etc.

This survival is borne out by the very earliest Masonic catechisms we possess, so here again we have in the records of this Norwich Lodge a reference taking us back to the earliest days of the organized Craft, and showing us that this Lodge in East Anglia felt itself bound by exactly the same unwritten tradition as prevails to-day in a jurisdiction second only to England in antiquity.

The later entry dealing with the jewel provided in 1782 for the Junior Master Mason would almost lead us to claim a connexion between his position and that held by the youngest entered Apprentice in the Haughfoot Lodge, viz., a sort of Deacon in attendance on the W.M. We must not strain the evidence, but, whatever we make of it, we cannot avoid accepting the conclusion that in this case also the Norwich Lodge was acting according to some Time Immemorial Masonic custom.

These few random snatches from the material brought together by Bro. Daynes will be enough to demonstrate the undoubted value of what he has offered us, and I think the Lodge will congratulate itself on the fact that one of our newly-elected Brethren has so soon given us an earnest of that excellent work which we expected and shall continue to expect from his industry in collecting and ability in presenting facts about the early history of our Order. It is with the utmost pleasure that I propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Daynes for his stimulating and valuable paper.

The proposition was seconded by Bro. John Stokes, and comments in appreciation of the paper were also made by Bros. Lionel Vibert, H. C. de Lafontaine, E. H. Dring, Sir Alfred Robbins, W. Wonnacott, G. W. Bullamore, and E. Felce.

Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES *writes* as follows, in reply:—

Although the appreciative remarks made by various Brethren at the close of my Paper do not strictly call for any reply, yet I cannot allow the occasion to pass without expressing to them, and also to the other Brethren present, my pleasure at receiving such a very cordial vote of thanks. The comments by the Worshipful Master are full of suggestive material, and demonstrate the value of Lodge Records, such as those of the Maid's Head Lodge, and the importance of making them available for purposes of comparison. Single records may be valuable for many purposes, but it is only when records are available in the mass that customs can be sustained or otherwise. I have added to my Paper certain Appendices which I hope may be of assistance in tracing eighteenth century Freemasons. Many of the names are those of well-known men.

In conclusion, I would like to place on record my intense gratitude to the Members of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge for having elected me a Joining Member of the Lodge. I need scarcely say I value this high honour exceedingly. It will always be my endeavour to live up to the standard which has ever been set by the members of the Lodge, and I will in every possible way do my utmost to help forward those special objects for which the Lodge was founded.

APPENDIX I.

List of Members of Lodge.

- Aldham, John*, Attorney-at-Law, Norwich. Proposed by John Harrison, Senr., and elected 26th Feb. 1762. E.A. 11th March 1762. Age on Initiation 45. F.C. and M.M. 2nd Decr. 1762. Secy. & Treas. 1763, 1764, and 1765. W.M. 1767. Secy. & Treas. 1768-1773. S.W. 1774. W.M. 1775. Last attendance 6th March 1782.
- Amherst, John Thomas*, Lieutenant 11th Light Dragoons. E.A. 6th January 1790. No further information.
- Anson, George*, Lieutenant 16th Light Dragoons. E.A. 3rd August 1791 (but according to G. Lodge Country Register 6th July 1791). Age on Initiation 21. Born 12th August 1769, being Brother of Thomas First Viscount Anson. Became Colonel in Army and Lieut.-Col. of 16th Light Dragoons. A.D.C. to George III. M.P. Lichfield. A General in the Army. Colonel 4th Dragoons. Equerry to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent. Groom of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. Prince Albert. Governor of Chelsea Hospital. G.C.B., K.T.S. Established a high military reputation in Peninsular War. Died 4th Novr. 1849.
- Arnham, John*, Clerk in Holy Orders. Proposed as "Honorary Brother" and elected 7th May 1747. "Admitted a Brother" 4th June 1747. Raised 27th Decr. 1748. S.W. 1749. J.W. 1750. S.W. 1751. S.W. 1755. Member of Committee to Audit Secretary's Accounts 27th Decr. 1754. W.M. 1756 & 1757. Last attendance 6th Febr. 1766 after gap from 2nd Decr. 1762 to that date. Curacy of Cringleford 1738-1787. Rector of Postwick 1740-1787. Rector of Dunham Magna St. Mary with St. Andrew annexed 1752-1787.
- Astley, Sir Edward, Bart.*, of Melton Constable, Norfolk. Elected an Honorary Member 23rd August 1785. W.M. 1786. A Member when Minutes cease. Eldest son of Sir Jacob Astley, Bart. Was baptised 26th Dec. 1729. M.P. Norfolk 1768-1790. P.G.M. Norfolk 1785-1798. Exalted R.A. 23rd February 1786. Died 27th March 1802.
- Astley, Edward John*, Capt. of — Regt. Foot Guards, Melton Constable, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Leeds 6th Octr. 1779. Elected 14th Octr. 1779. E.A. 7th June 1780. Age on Initiation 22. F.C. 27th Decr. 1781. M.M. 6th Febr. 1782. Attended as a Visitor 7th August 1782, 23rd August 1785, and 21st January 1786. Born 11th June 1761. Was 3rd son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. Became Colonel 1st Life Guards.
- Astley, Henry Nicholas*, of Melton Constable, Norfolk, afterwards Clerk in Holy Orders. Proposed by Robert Partridge 3rd Augt. 1785. Elected and Initiated 23rd August 1785. M.M. 4th October 1785. No record of F.C. Degree. Born 5th Jany. 1767, 5th son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. Vicar of East Barsham 1791. Rector of Little Snoring 1791. Rector of Bintry with Themelthorpe 1799-1804. Rector of Foulsham 1803-1832.
- Astley, Jacob Henry*, Esquire, Melton Constable, Norfolk, afterwards 5th Baronet 1802-1817. Proposed by Edward Leeds 6th Octr. 1779. Elected 14th Octr. 1779. E.A., F.C. and M.M. 1st Febr. 1780. Attended as a Visitor 27th Decr. 1781 and 5th June 1782. Born 12th Sept. 1756, eldest son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. M.P. Norfolk 1797-1817. P.G.M. Norfolk 1816, but died before Installation. Died 28th April 1817 at Berners Street, London.
- Astley, William Coke*, Esquire, Melton Constable, Norfolk. Proposed by John Athow at the request of William T. Harwood and elected 24th Octr. 1786. E.A. 6th Decr. 1786. F.C. & M.M. 3rd January 1787. Died on 3rd November 1789 of a fever at Calcutta, India, in his 21st year.

- Atkyns, Edward*, Esquire, of Ketteringham Hall, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Leeds and elected 1st Sept. 1779. E.A. 1st Sept. 1779. No other information. Grandson of Sir Edward Atkyns, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who bought Ketteringham. Married Miss Charlotte Walpole, an Actress of Drury Lane, and died abroad in 1794.
- Atthill, William*, Surgeon and Apothecary, Norwich. Proposed by Edward Barrow 2nd Oct. 1782. Elected 29th Oct. 1782. Initiated 6th Nov. 1782, but did not again attend.
- Atthow, John*, Stone Mason, Norwich. Proposed by William Simpson 27th Dec. 1774. Elected 30th Jan. 1775. E.A. 1st Feb. 1775. Age on Initiation 34. Presented a "Lewis of curious Marble and Workmanship," 5th April 1775. F.C. & M.M. 7th June 1775. Secy. and Treas. 1778. J.W. 1779. S.W. 1780. W.M. 1781. A Member when Minutes cease.
- Bacon, Edward*, Esquire, Earham, nr. Norwich. Visited Lodge 2nd Aug. 1759 as P.G.M. Norfolk and "desir'd to be admitted a Member of this Lodge which was accordingly granted." Attended 6th Sept. and 4th Oct. 1759. M.P. 1756-1784. Commissioner of Trade and Plantations 1761. Recorder of Norwich. D.L. Norfolk. P.G.M. Norfolk 1759-1784. Died 12th March 1786.
- Balders, Charles*, Esquire, of Norwich. Initiated 5th Nov. 1794, but no other information available.
- Barker, William*, Ensign 10th Regt. Foot. Proposed by Robert Partridge 27th Dec. 1780. Elected 29th Dec. 1780. E.A. 3rd Jan. 1781. F.C. & M.M. 11th Jan. 1781. Did not attend again.
- Barnham, James*, Attorney-at-Law, Bungay, Suffolk. Proposed by William Mingay and elected 26th Nov. 1754. "Admitted Brother" 5th Dec. 1754. Last attendance 1st May 1755. Appointed a Master Extraordinary in H.C. of Chancery 2nd July 1757.
- Barrell, William*, Esquire, Bróome Park, near Alnwick, Northumberland. Initiated 25th January 1797, but no further information available.
- Barrett, George Leonard*, Comedian, Manager of Theatre Royal, Norwich. Proposed by Thomas Havers 5th April 1786. Elected Joining Member 3rd May 1786. Mother Lodge unknown. Last attendance 3rd Sept. 1788.
- Barrow, Edward*, Merchant, Norwich. Proposed by Edward Crane and elected 1st Nov. 1781. E.A. 7th Nov. 1781. F.C. 27th Dec. 1781. M.M. 6th Feb. 1782. Secy. & Treas. 1787. J.W. 1788. S.W. 1789, and a Member when Minutes cease. He was first manufacturer of Shawls in Norwich and perhaps in England, also first Cotton manufacturer in Norwich. Died 13th July 1813, aged 70.
- Barry, Redmond*, Briningham, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Barrow, "and by particular desire as his stay in Norwich was to be short, a ballot was taken which proved Nem. Con., he was initiated into the first degree, passed Fellow Craft, and raised Master" 24th June 1783. Visited the Lodge 7th Nov. 1787.
- Barry, Richard*, Cornet 11th Dragoons. Proposed by Capt. Francis Moore, elected and made a Mason, 6th Aug. 1783. F.C. & M.M. 2nd Dec. 1789. Was rejected by The Royal Lodge as a joining Member 7th April 1791. (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxi., p. 111.)
- Bartlett, Barnaby John*, Esquire, London. Initiated 10th Oct. 1792. Age given as 24. No further information available.
- Baseley, Thomas*, Dyer, Norwich. Visited Lodge 2nd May 1765, and at same Lodge was by unanimous consent of Brethren admitted a Member. Secy. & Treas. 1766 and 1767. W.M. 1768-1772. J.W. 1773. Secy. & Treas. 1774. Appears to have resigned about March 1780.

- Proposed by Robert Partridge to be re-admitted and unanimously agreed to 8th Augt. 1787. A Member when Minutes cease.
- Bayfield, John Woolsey*, 2nd Lieut. Hull Royal Artillery, Norwich. Initiated 2nd Decr. 1795. Age given as 25. No further information available.
- Bedingfield, Francis Philip*, Esquire, Ditchingham, nr. Bungay. Proposed by Robert Partridge 3rd Augt. 1785. Elected and E.A. 23rd Augt. 1785. M.M. (and probably F.C.) 4th Octr. 1785. Age on Initiation 30.
- Bedingfield, Richard*, Esquire, Oxburgh, Norfolk. Initiated 1st February 1792. Born 23rd Augt. 1767, only son of Sir Richard Henry Bedingfield, and became 5th Baronet on death of his Father 27th March 1795. Married Hon. Charlotte Georgiana Jerningham, sister of George Lord Stafford. Died 22nd November 1829.
- Beechy, William*, Portrait Painter, Market Place, Norwich. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1782 and on many subsequent occasions, frequently being shown as a Member although there is no record of his election. F.C. 24th June 1783. M.M. 2nd July 1783. Painted a Portrait of Robert Partridge 1785. Last attendance 7th Novr. 1787. Born 1753. Elected R.A. 1793. Portrait Painter to King George III. Knighted 1798. President R.A. Painted several local Portraits which now hang in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich. Died 28th January 1839.
- Beevor, William*. Proposed by William Mingay and elected 26th Novr. 1754. "Admitted a Brother" 5th Decr. 1754. Last attendance 6th February 1755.
- Bell, Coulson*, Esquire. Proposed by William Earle Bulwer 7th Sept. 1785. Elected and E.A. 4th Octr. 1785. Did not attend again.
- Berney, Sir John, Bart.* Kirby Bedon, nr. Norwich. Proposed by Robert Partridge 23rd Augt. 1785. Elected 7th Sept. 1785. E.A. 2nd Novr. 1785. Visited Lodge 6th Febry. 1788. F.C. 29th Octr. 1788. Only son of Sir Hanson Berney. Succeeded to Baronetcy on death of Father 1778. Died in 1825.
- Berry, John*, Bookseller, Binder & Stationer, Norwich. Proposed by William Mingay and elected 15th July 1755. E.A. 28th July 1755. F.C. 27th Decr. 1755. Secy. & Treas. 1757. Last attendance as Member 6th Octr. 1757. Re-appointed Secy. & Treas. for 1758 in his absence, but never attended. Visited 7th Octr. 1762, also 2nd Novr. 1785.
- Bloom, Daniel*, Flour Merchant, Trowse, Norwich. Proposed by John Loder 27th Decr. 1780. Elected Joining Member 30th July 1782. Does not appear to have ever attended. He was Initiated in King's Head Lodge on 2nd May 1780, and his age was then given as 44.
- Boyce, James*, Attorney-at-Law, Wymer Street, Norwich. Became a Joining Member 5th March 1794. Age given as 30. Was Initiated in Unanimity Lodge No. 102. Exalted Royal Arch 17th February 1791. Prov.G.Secy. Norfolk 1797-1805.
- Booth, Thomas*, Innholder, Norwich. Agreed by Members "that he be made a Mason and to attend on this Lodge" 1st July 1778. E.A. 5th Augt. 1778. M.M. 1st Febry. 1780. Attends as a Visitor once in 1785 and twice in 1788. Exalted Royal Arch 17th February 1792.
- Bracey, Captain Jay*, Royal Navy, Norwich. Of The Three Tuns Lodge at Portsmouth. Visited 1st Sept. 1779. Proposed by Edward Leeds 6th Octr. 1779. Elected Joining Member 1st Decr. 1779. Admitted Joining Member 27th Decr. 1779. J.W. 1781. S.W. 1782. Chosen W.M. for 1783 "but he in a very polite speech begged to decline the Office." Presented "an elegant Jewel to be worn by the Junior Master Mason, 27th Decr. 1782. Last attendance 5th Decr. 1787. Exalted Royal Arch 20th April 1786.

- Brackfield, Theophilus.* Proposed by Robert Suckling and elected 29th May 1783. E.A., F.C. and M.M. 4th June 1783. Did not again attend.
- Brereton, William,* Gentleman, Holt, Norfolk. Proposed by E. J. Astley 6th Febr. 1782. Elected 6th March 1782. E.A. 7th Augt. 1782. Did not attend again until F.C. & M.M. 3rd Decr. 1788, then a Visitor.
- Brettingham, Robert,* Mason, Norwich. Shown in 1745 List of Members as having been made February 1736. W.M. 1745. Attended spasmodically until 6th May, 1756, when he apparently resigned. Proposed by John Nuthall that he "should be reinstated payin a guinea which was agreed to" 1st Novr. 1759. Last attendance 2nd Decr. 1762. Sheriff of Norwich 1764. Alderman. Died 11th May 1768, aged 72.
- Brock, James,* Captain Queen's Bays. Initiated 3rd June 1794. Age stated as 25. No other information available.
- Brooke, Robert,* Lieut. 30th Regt. Foot, Norwich. Initiated 4th Decr. 1793. Age stated as 24. No other information available.
- Browne, Henry.* "Admitted a Member" 4th June 1747, previous Lodge not stated. J.W. 1753 and 1755. S.W. 1756. Acted as Deputy Master whilst S.W. on 1st April 1756. Last attendance 2nd February 1758.
- Browne, John,* Dancing Master, Norwich. Proposed by Thomas Baseley 1st Decr. 1779. Elected and E.A. 27th Decr. 1779. Age on Initiation 37. F.C. & M.M. 1st Febr. 1780. Secy. & Treas. 1781. J.W. 1782. S.W. 1783 and 1784. W.M. 1785. A Member when Minutes cease. Kept a Boarding School for Young Ladies 12, Redwell St., Norwich.
- Browne, Simon,* Writing Master, Norwich. In Minutes of 30th March 1774 stated to have been "sometime since proposed to be ballotted for in this Lodge to be made a Mason but was omitted being enter'd in the Lodge Book." Elected 8th April 1774. E.A. 4th May 1774. Age on Initiation 50. Presented Lodge with "Copy of a Summons for attendance" 7th Septr. 1774. Secy. & Treas. 1775. F.C. & M.M. 13th Febr. 1775. Secy. & Treas. 1776 and 1777. J.W. 1778. S.W. 1779. W.M. 1780. Last attendance 7th Novr. 1787.
- Browne, Thomas,* Clerk in Holy Orders, Snoring Parva, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Crane upon recommendation of Sir Edward Astley, Bart., and elected noon 2nd Decr. 1789. E.A. & F.C. evening 2nd Decr. 1789. Rector of Snoring Parva (gift of Sir Edward Astley, Bart.) 1789-1791.
- Bulwer, Augustine,* Clerk in Holy Orders, Heydon, Norfolk. Proposed by Hon. Henry Hobart and elected 12th Augt. 1789. E.A. 2nd Sept. 1789. F.C. & M.M. 30th Sept. 1789. Younger Brother of Genl. W. E. Bulwer. Rector of Heydon with Irmingland 1786-1831. Vicar of Guestwick 1793-1796. Rector of Salle 1796-1818. D.D.
- Bulwer, William Earle,* Lieut. 68th Regt. Foot, Heydon, Norfolk. Proposed by Robert Partridge 3rd Augt. 1785. Elected and E.A. 23rd Augt. 1785. M.M. 7th Septr. 1785. No record as to F.C. A Member when Minutes cease. Prov.G.M. Norfolk 1801-1807. Col. in Army. Brig.-Genl. of Volunteers. Died 7th July 1807, aged 53 years.
- Burkes, John,* Porter Merchant, Norwich. Joining Member 5th Novr. 1793. Age on joining 43. Was also a Silk Dyer.
- Buttevant, James,* Merchant, Norwich. Joining Member 3rd Decr. 1794. No further information available. There was a father and son of same name.

- Carlos, James*, Barber, Bookseller & Stationer, Norwich. Shown in 1745 List of Members as admitted June 1724 and as having been W.M. prior to 1743. J.W. 1743. Last attendance 2nd June 1757. Died about August 1757 and his business taken over by Christopher Berry.
- Carthew, Thomas*, Clerk in Holy Orders, Woodbridge, Suffolk. Initiated 4th July 1792. Rector of Frettenham with Stanninghall 1764-1791, when presumably he moved to Woodbridge.
- Cerjat, George*, Lieut. 1st Regt. Dragoons. Proposed by Robert Partridge 27th Decr. 1780. Elected 29th Decr. 1780. E.A. 3rd Jany. 1781. Did not attend again.
- Chambers, John*, Gentleman, Beccles, Suffolk. Proposed by Henry Browne and elected 29th April 1755. E.A. 1st May 1755. F.C. 5th June 1755. M.M. 3rd July 1755. Last attendance 28th July 1755.
- Churchill, Charles*, Major-General. Made a Mason at Special Lodge, Houghton Hall, Norfolk, November 1731.
- Claridge, John*. Proposed by Thomas Baseley and elected 3rd Febr. 1779. E.A. 1st Sept. 1779. F.C. & M.M. 7th Febr. 1781. Visited Lodge 5th Sept. 1781.
- Coates, William*, Ensign 1st Regt. of Guards. Initiated 10th June 1794. Age on Initiation 22 years. No further information available.
- Coleraine, Henry, Lord*. Grand Master 1727-1728. In 1728 whilst Grand Master he visited Lodge and "declared his approbation and signify'd his desire of becoming a member thereof."
- Cole, John Hammond*, Gentleman, Norwich. Proposed by John Roach 2nd Jany. 1788. Elected and E.A. 6th Febr. 1788. F.C. 29th Oct. 1788. Secy. & Treas. 1789. M.M. 4th Febr. 1789. A Member when Minutes cease. Exalted Royal Arch 16th Augt. 1793. Banker. Distributor of Stamps 1793-1828. Sheriff 1799. First Treasurer and Founder Norwich Savings Bank. Capt. Norwich Vol. Batt. 1802. Alderman 1809. Mayor 1811. Died Nov. 29th, 1828, aged 72 years.
- Colyer, Charles*, Gentleman, of Drayton, Norfolk. Proposed by John Patteson and elected 27th Decr. 1777. E.A. 4th Febr. 1778. F.C. & M.M. 4th March 1778 when he "received his Certificate." Attended as Visitor afterwards, last visit being 3rd January 1787.
- Copley, Joseph*, Capt. 3rd Regiment of Guards, Norwich. Initiated 4th Decr. 1793. Age on Initiation 22. No further information available.
- Cooper, John*, Gentleman. Proposed by John Loder and elected 28th Jany. 1780. E.A., F.C. and M.M. 1st Febr. 1780. Did not attend again except as a Visitor on 1st March 1780 and 30th July 1782, when noted as "St. Johns."
- Cooper, Robert*. Shown as a Member in Minute of Meeting 27th Decr. 1743. Acted as Deputy S.W. 7th June 1744. Last attendance 1st Novr. 1744, and his name is not on 1745 List of Brethren of Lodge.
- Cooper, William*, Brandy Merchant, Norwich. Proposed by Robert Partridge and elected 1st June 1775. E.A., F.C. and M.M. 7th June 1775. Attended as Visitor 16th May and 5th June 1776, also 6th March 1782 (then stated as "St. Johns").
- Crane, Edward*, Upholder, Auctioneer and Appraiser, Norwich. Proposed by Edward Leeds 7th Febr. 1781. Elected 7th March 1781. E.A. 4th July 1781. F.C. 27th Decr. 1781. M.M. 6th Febr. 1782. Secy. & Treas. 1785 and 1786. J.W. 1787. S.W. 1788. W.M. 1789. Was a Member when Minutes cease.

- Craske, Thomas.* Shown in 1745 List of Members as having been made a Mason February 1739. S.W. 1744. W.M. 1746. Secy. & Treas. 1755, 1756 and 1759. J.W. 1762 and 1763. Last attendance 27th Dec. 1768. In 1761 paid fine for being discharged from serving Office of Sheriff of Norwich.
- Crouse, John,* Printer, Norwich. Proposed by Robert Jollins and elected 27th Decr. 1772. E.A. 10th March 1773. F.C. & M.M. 13th Febr. 1775. Last attendance 5th June 1776. Printed *Norwich Gazette* (afterwards *Norfolk Chronicle and Norfolk Gazette*) from 18th July 1761. Died 18th Novr. 1796.
- Crow, William,* Weaver, Norwich. Name appears in Grand Lodge MS. List of 1725. Is no longer a Member in 1743, but visits the Lodge 5th Decr. 1754. Sheriff of Norwich 1741. Alderman 1744. Mayor 1747.
- Culley, Samuel,* Ludham, Norfolk. Proposed by John Loder and elected 30th March 1774. E.A. 4th May 1774. Last attendance 1st Febr. 1775.
- Custance, William,* Upholder, Norwich. Joining Member 3rd Febr. 1790 (G. Lodge Register states March 1790). Exalted R.A. 18th January 1793.
- Davy, Henry.* Name appears in G. Lodge MS. List of 1725. Is not shown as a Member in 1743. Probably Henry Davy, Esquire, who died 1728, aged 54, and was buried in the Church of St. Simon and St. Jude, the parish in which Lodge held.
- Dawson, Henry,* Dyer, Norwich. Proposed by Wm. C. Leeds 4th June 1783. Elected Joining Member 24th June 1783. Age on joining 30. Last attendance 2nd January 1788. Partner in firm Dawson & Leeds, Scarlet Dyers, Colegate Street, Norwich. Joined Lodge at Blue Boar, Norwich, March 1783.
- Dawson, John,* Lock and Whitesmith, Norwich. Proposed by James Money and elected 6th March 1755. E.A. 1st May 1755. F.C. 28th July, 1755. M.M. 27th Decr. 1755. J. W. 1757. S.W. 1758. W.M. 1760 and 1761. J.W. 1764-1767 and 1769-1772. S.W. 1773. W.M. 1774. Last attendance 6th Novr. 1776. Town Councillor for Beyond The Water Ward, Norwich, 1757.
- Deardon, John,* Lieut. Enniskilling Dragoons, Norwich. Initiated 3rd May 1797. No other information available.
- Denham, Charles.* Name appears in G. Lodge MS. List of 1725. Is not shown as a Member in 1743. Was Landlord of the Maids Head Inn.
- Downing, John.* Name appears in G. Lodge MS. List of 1725. Is not shown as a Member in 1743. In 1730 was a Grocer in the Market Place, Norwich.
- D'Urban, Benjamin,* Cornet Queen's Bays. Initiated 3rd June 1794. Age given as 21 years. Born 1777. Entered Army 1793; served through Peninsular War. Colonel 1813. K.C.B. 1815. Major-General 1819. Governor of Antigua 1820. After serving further appointments, Governor of Cape Colony 1834. Town Durban named after him. Lieut.-General 1837. G.C.B. 1840. Commanded Troops Canada 1847 till death at Montreal 25th May 1849.
- Durell, Solomon Henry,* Captain. Proposed by Hon. H. Hobart. Elected and E.A. 7th Novr. 1787. F.C. & M.M. 5th Decr. 1787. Attended as Visitor 2nd Jany. 1788 and twice more during that year.
- Earle, Erasmus.* Name appears in G. Lodge MS. List for 1725 as a Member of the Maids Head Lodge and of the Queen's Head at Bath. Died at Bath 28th Octr. 1728; buried at Heydon, Norfolk, where he had resided when not at Bath.

- Ebrington, Thomas Gerard*, Major in Army, Norwich. Initiated 3rd May 1797. Exalted R.A. May 12th 1797. Age given as 32.
- Egan, Michael*. Surgeon Queen's Bays. Initiated 3rd June 1794. Age given as 26.
- Elsden, William Rolfe*, Ensign 26th Regt. of Foot. Proposed by Paul A. Flindt 6th Sept. 1780. Elected 4th Octr. 1780. E.A. 1st Nov. 1780. F.C. & M.M. 6th Decr. 1780. Did not attend again.
- Essex, William, Earl of*. Made a Mason at Emergency Meeting of Lodge held at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, in November 1731.
- Evan, John* (probably Ewan). Name appears in G. Lodge MS. List for 1725. Probably John Ewan, Attorney-at-Law. Town Clerk of Norwich.
- Ferman, Francis*. Proposed by James Royal and elected 15th July, 1755. E.A. 28th July 1755. Name ordered to be "struck out of the List of the Members of this Lodge" 6th Octr. 1757.
- Finch, William Beever*, Captain in Army, Norwich. Initiated 4th May 1797, but no further information available.
- Fisher, Francis*, Esquire. Initiated 2nd Septr. 1795, but no further information available.
- Flindt, Paul Anthony*, Merchant, Norwich, formerly of Lodge No. 223. Proposed by Paul Loyterton and elected 1st March 1780, having previously visited twice in 1778, then Member of No. 223. Admitted Joining Member 5th April 1780. Secy. & Treas. 1782. J.W. 1785, 1786. S.W. 1787. W.M. 1788. A Member when Minutes cease.
- Folkes, Martin*. Name appears in G. Lodge MS. List for 1725. No longer a Member in 1743. He constituted Maids Head Lodge in 1724. D.G.M. to Duke of Richmond. F.R.S., F.S.A. Died 28th June, 1754.
- Forbes, William*, Lieut. Norwich Volunteers. Initiated 1st Octr. 1794. Age given as 25. No further information available.
- Francis, John*. Name appears in G. Lodge MS. List for 1725. Not a Member in 1743. Perhaps The Rev. John Francis, LL.D., Assistant Minister St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, and Rector of St. John, Maddermarket, Norwich, at that time.
- Frank, Francis*. Shown in G. Lodge MS. List for 1725, but not a Member in 1743. Attended Lodge as Dep.P.G.M. Norfolk 6th Decr. 1759. Last attendance 3rd Augt. 1762. Married Sister of Edward Bacon, P.G.M. Norfolk. Died in 1773. LL.B. Chapter Clerk, and Registrar of the Dean and Chapter.
- Frazer, John Henry*, Esquire. Initiated 2nd Octr. 1795, but no further information available.
- Gale, Henry Richmond*, Cornet, Queen's Dragoons. Proposed by Capt. William Osborne and elected at Special Lodge 1st April, 1778. E.A., F.C. and M.M. Regular Lodge 1st April 1778. Did not attend again.
- Gamble, John*, Bungay, Suffolk. Proposed by F. P. Bedingfield 6th Decr. 1785. Elected, E.A., F.C. and M.M. 14th Decr. 1785. Visited Lodge 2nd Augt. 1786.
- Gardner, Francis Farrington*, Captain in Navy. Initiated 4th May 1797. Probably received Degrees of F.C. & M.M. same day, as Exalted R.A. 5th May 1797. Born June 21st 1773. Was second son of Allan Gardner, Baron Gardner of Uttoxeter.
- Gay, James*, Attorney-at-Law, North Walsham, Norfolk. Proposed by James Royal and elected 2nd May 1745. "Admitted a Member" 21st May 1745. He does not appear to have attended again.
- Gill, William*, Cornet. Initiated 5th Decr. 1792. No further information available.

- Gooch, Stephen.* "Admitted Brother pursuant to a ballot taken" 27th Decr. 1743. "Made Master" 27th Decr. 1744. Chosen J.W. vice Thomas Woode deceased 4th Sept. 1746. W.M. 1752. Last attendance 3rd March 1757.
- Goodman, John.* Citizen and Alderman of Norwich. Proposed by Richard Twiss and elected 14th Decr. 1747. E.A. 27th Decr. 1747. F.C. and M.M. 7th March 1751. W.M. 1759. Last attendance 1st Nov. 1759 during year in Chair. Common Councillor Mancroft Ward, Norwich, 1735. Sheriff of Norwich 1751. Mayor 1757.
- Goverts, Theodore Henry,* Merchant from Hamburg. Proposed by Cornelius Van Driel and elected 1st June 1775. Admitted a Joining Member and "raised Master" 5th July, 1775. Was a Member of Alexander Drummond's Lodge at Aleppo previously to joining.
- Greville, Honble. Henry,* Captain. Proposed by John Loder 4th Augt. 1779. Elected 13th August 1779. E.A. 1st Sept. 1779. Did not attend again.
- Gurdon, Theophilus Thornaugh,* Esquire, Norwich. Proposed by F. P. Beddingfield 2nd Augt. 1786. Elected and E.A. 6th Sept. 1786. F.C. & M.M. 3rd Oct. 1786. Did not attend again. Age given as 24. Sheriff of Norwich 1824. Died in 1849.
- Hale (or Hales), John,* Merchant, Great Yarmouth. Proposed by John Browne, 6th April 1785. Elected 4th May 1785. E.A. 4th Oct. 1785. F.C. & M.M. 6th Decr. 1785. Did not attend again.
- Hammond, Samuel,* "from London." Proposed by James Hayward 23rd Augt. 1785. Elected and E.A. 7th Sept. 1785. F.C. & M.M. 1st March 1786. As a Visitor, visited 6th Sept. 1786 and 7th March 1787.
- Hancock, Benjamin,* Esquire, Norwich. Proposed by John Harrison, Senr., and elected 15th Jany. 1762. E.A. 3rd Augt. 1762. Last attendance 3rd Nov. 1763. Common Councillor Beyond the Water Ward, Norwich 1757. Sheriff 1761. Mayor 1763. Became Bankrupt 1774.
- Hanmer, Henry,* Clerk in Holy Orders. Proposed by Robert Partridge by desire of Chapman Ives 6th Decr. 1786. Elected 3rd Jany. 1787. E.A. 7th March 1787. Did not attend again. Probably son of Rev. William Hanmer, Rector of Cottishall 1761-1786.
- Hanna, Joseph,* Ensign, Norwich Volunteers. Initiated 18th Sept. 1794. Age given as 21. Exalted R.A. 12th May 1797, then Lieut. 56th Regiment of Foot.
- Harcourt, John,* Surgeon of Stalham, Norfolk. Proposed by John Aldham 7th April 1773. Elected 3rd May 1773. E.A. 7th July 1773. F.C. 30th March 1774. M.M. 13th Febry. 1775. Last attendance 5th April 1775. Born about 1740. Buried at Irstead, Norfolk, 1808. Was a son of Boys Harcourt of St. Stephens, Norwich, Grocer.
- Harding, Ben,* Ensign 17th Regiment of Foot. Proposed by Capt. Wm. Osborne and elected Special Lodge 1st April 1778. E.A., F.C. and M.M. Regular Lodge 1st April 1778. Did not attend again.
- Hardy, George,* Captain. Proposed by John Loder 4th Augt. 1779. Elected 13th Augt. 1779. E.A. 1st Sept. 1779. Did not attend again.
- Harrison, John, Sen.* Visited Lodge three times between 1751 and 1758. On last occasion 27th Decr. 1758 was "admitted a Member of this Lodge, paid ye usual fine." S.W. 1760. W.M. 1762 and 1763. Last attendance 5th June 1766.
- Harrison, John, Junr.* Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1759 and "desired to be admitted Member and on paying fine agreed he should be admitted next Lodge night." Admitted 7th Febry. 1760. S.W. 1761 to 1763. W.M. 1764 and 1765. J.W. 1768. Last attendance 16th May 1776.

Harrison, Thomas, Surgeon, Holt, Norfolk. Proposed by James Royal and elected 2nd July 1747. "Admitted a Brother" 6th Augt. 1747. "Raised Master" 27th Decr. 1748. Last attendance 2nd Novr. 1752.

Harrison, T—— A——. Shown in G. Lodge Country Register as a Member but with no date or particulars. From Position in List probably was initiated or joined about 1792.

Harvey, John, Esquire, Norwich. Proposed by Hon. H. Hobart 2nd Nov. 1785. Elected 6th Decr. 1785. E.A. 5th April 1786. Did not attend again. Born 1755. Sheriff of Norwich 1785. Mayor 1792. Captain Norfolk Light Horse Vols. on formation. Major, and subsequently Lt.-Col. Commanding. High Sheriff Norfolk 1825. Died 1842. Revived Horse Racing on Mousehold Heath and started the Thorpe Water Frolic.

Harwood, Bartholomew, Goldsmith, Norwich. Name appears in G.L. MS. List for 1725. Not a Member in 1743. In 1720 held a Patent for Office of Bailiff and Receiver of the Rents of certain of the Bishop of Norwich Manors. Common Councillor, Mancroft Ward, Norwich, 1735. Sheriff 1758. Mayor 1760.

Harwood, William Thomas, Lieut. 19th Regt. of Dragoons. Proposed by John Atthow at the request of Jacob Astley and Charles Colyer and elected 26th Decr. 1781. E.A. & F.C. 27th Decr. 1781. M.M. 2nd April 1783. Visited Lodge several times 1785-1787, last occasion being 3rd Jany. 1787. Probably son of Thomas Harwood, of Bracondale, Norwich, Common Councillor, who died 1780. In 1802 was Lieut.-Colonel and resided at Abington, Cambridgeshire.

Hatfield, Alexander, Capt. 15th Regt. of Dragoons. Proposed by Robert Partridge and elected 2nd Nov. 1784. E.A. 3rd Novr. 1784. M.M. 2nd Novr. 1785. No record as to degree of F.C. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1785.

Havers, Thomas, Esquire, of Thelton, Norfolk. Proposed by Lieut. W. T. Harwood 5th March 1783. Elected and E.A. 2nd April 1783. Age on initiation 28. F.C. 24th June 1783. M.M. 5th Novr. 1783. Visited Lodge on three occasions afterwards, last being 5th March 1788. Great Grandfather of Dr. John Havers, a celebrated nineteenth century Freemason.

Hayes, Roger, Lieut. 11th Regt. Dragoons. Visited Lodge 7th Augt. 1787 as a Member of Grand Lodge York. After several visits proposed by Loyson Lewis and elected Joining Member 7th May 1783. Did not attend after 3rd Sept. 1783 until 3rd June 1789, when shown as Captain Hayes. On 1st July 1789 "requested to be admitted" a member and paid his subscription accordingly. Was a Member when Minutes cease. Entered Army 1760 and on duty with Household Troops at Coronation of George III. Became Captain 11th Light Dragoons. For many years Adj. East Norfolk Yeomanry Cavalry. Died on 12th December 1825 at Yarmouth, aged 86.

Hayward, James, Linen Draper, Norwich. Proposed by Loyson Lewis 4th Febr. 1784. Elected 3rd March 1784. E.A. 5th May 1784. Age given as 28. F.C. 3rd Novr. 1784. M.M. 7th Sept. 1785. Secy. & Treas. 1788. J.W. 1789, and a Member when Minutes cease.

Heath, Edward, Senr., Farmer, Panxworth, Norfolk. Proposed by John Harrison, Junr., 1st Sept. 1773. Elected 27th Sept. 1773. E.A. 2nd Oct. 1773. F.C. 30th March 1774. J.W. 1775. M.M. 13th Febr. 1775. S.W. 1776. Last attendance 6th Augt. 1777.

- Heath, Edward, Junr.*, Farmer, Hemblington, Norfolk. Proposed by Edwd. Heath, Senr., 2nd June 1774, and "a Bye Lodge was order'd at the Master's pleasure to Ballot for him." No Bye Lodge recorded but E.A. 27th July 1774. F.C. 13th Febr. 1775. M.M. 7th June 1775. Attended 27th Decr. 1775. Attended as Visitor 3rd April 1776. Joined Lodge at Blue Boar, Norwich, 28th Jany. 1788.
- Heath, William, Junr.*, Farmer, Hemblington, Norfolk. Proposed by John Loder and elected 1st June 1775. Admitted a Joining Member from the Lodge at the Maids Head, Norwich, 6th Decr. 1775. Gave a guinea towards three Candlesticks 27th Decr. 1776. This was his last attendance.
- Hill, ———*, Cornet, Enniskillen Dragoons, Norwich. Initiated 6th January 1796. Age given as 23. No further information available.
- Hill, William Money*, Esquire, Waterden, Norfolk. Initiated 25th January 1797. No further information available.
- Hobart, Hon. Henry*, of Intwood, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Leeds 6th Febr. 1782. Elected 6th March 1782. E.A. 7th Augt. 1782. F.C. & M.M. 2nd Octr. 1782. J.W. 1783. On 5th Novr. 1783 "treated the Brethren with an Elegant Supper." J.W. 1784. S.W. 1785, 1786. W.M. 1787. A Member when Minutes cease. Born in 1738. Joined Lodge of Eleusinian Mysteries, Norwich, March 1783. Joined Lodge at Blue Boar Inn, Norwich, 1783. Exalted R.A. 23rd Febr. 1786. M.P. Norwich 1787-1799. P.G.M. Norfolk 1798-1799, but was never installed. Grand Superintendent of R.A. Masonry, Norfolk, 1792-1799. Died at Bath 10th May, 1799.
- Hobart, Henry Charles*, Esquire. Initiated 2nd Octr. 1795. Exalted R.A. 9th May 1797 when age given as 23.
- Holdman, John*. Proposed by John Marks and elected 2nd Aug 1744. "Admitted a Brother" 6th Septr. 1744. "Admitted Master" 11th June 1745. Last attendance 6th August 1747.
- Hornby ———*, Captain, Norwich. Proposed by James Moore 3rd January 1787. Elected a joining Member 7th February 1787. Last attendance as a Member 4th Octr. 1787. Visited Lodge 7th January 1789.
- Humfrey, Charles*. Shown as a Member in Minutes of Meeting 27th Decr. 1743. Last attendance 3rd May 1744. On 2nd February 1744 he paid 6/- his Deposit Money "for six months ensuing." His name is not on list of Members 1745.
- Hyde, John*, Esquire. Proposed by Thomas Havers 22nd Septr. 1785. Elected and E.A. 4th Octr. 1785. M.M. 2nd Novr. 1785. No reference to F.C. degree. Ceased to be a Member, but visited 3rd January 1787 and 2nd January 1788. Visited Royal Lodge 1787-8 (*A.Q.C.* xxxi., p. 109.)
- Ibbotson, Carr*, Captain 1st Regt. Dragoons. Proposed by Robt. Partridge 27th Decr. 1780. Elected 29th Decr. 1780. E.A. 3rd Jan. 1781. F.C. & M.M. 11th Jany. 1781. Did not attend again.
- Ireland, William*. Proposed by Henry Browne and Elected 16th July 1747. E.A. 6th Augt. 1747. F.C. & M.M. 7th March 1751. Last attendance 6th June 1751.
- Ives, Chapman*, Esquire, Cottishall, Norfolk. Proposed by Robert Jollins 1st Decr. 1784. Elected and E.A. 27th Decr. 1784. F.C. & M.M. 27th Decr. 1785. Did not attend again as Member but Visited Lodge 4 times in 1786, twice in 1787, and on 4th Novr. 1789. Exalted R.A. 21st Decr. 1787.
- Ives, John*, Esquire, Norwich. Initiated 3rd May 1797. No further information available.

- Ivory, Thomas*, Stone Mason, Norwich. Proposed by Robert Brettingham and elected 27th Decr. 1744. "Admitted a Brother" 7th Febr. 1745. "Raised Master" 27th Decr. 1747. J.W. 1749. Last attendance 2nd Novr. 1752. His name at his own request "erased out of the List of this Lodge" 4th April 1754. Member Lodge of Unanimity No. 102 from 1787.
- Ivory, Thomas, Junr.*, Marble and Stone Mason, Norwich. Proposed by John Loder and elected 29th Sept. 1773. E.A. 2nd Octr. 1773. Did not again attend Lodge.
- Jermyn, Peter, Junr.*, Attorney at Law, Halesworth, Suffolk. Proposed by Robert Suckling 2nd Augt. 1786. Elected 6th Septr. 1786. E.A. 4th November 1789. Joined Lodge now Union No. 52 26th March 1790, age then given as 24.
- Jerningham, George*, Esquire, of Costessey, Norfolk. Initiated 10th Octr. 1792. Born 27th April, 1771, succeeded his Father as 7th Baronet 14th August 1809, and succeeded to Barony of Stafford as 8th Baron in 1824 on the reversal of attainder (1680) of his ancestor Viscount Stafford. His sister married Richard Bedingfield who was made a Mason in this Lodge. Died 4th October, 1851.
- Johnson, Thomas*, Apothecary, Norwich. Made a Mason in May 1724. W.M. 1731. S.W. 1747 and 1750. Secy. and Treas. 1751. Deputy Master 1752. Last attendance as a Member 5th April 1753. Visited Lodge 3 times between 7th June 1753 and 7th October 1756. Apprenticed to Valentine Peel Apothecary and Sworn as a Freeman Norwich 24th February 1715-16. Coroner for Norwich 1730-1736. Common Speaker of Council 1732-1736. Sheriff of Norwich 1737. Postmaster of Norwich for many years. Died 10th July 1758 in 65th year of his age.
- Jollins, Robert*, Deal or Timber Merchant, Norwich. Proposed by John Marks and elected 2nd Augt. 1744. "Admitted a Brother" 6th Septr. 1744. "Raised Master" 27th Decr. 1747. Age on admission 30. J.W. 1748 and 1752. W.M. 1753. Secy. & Treas. 1760-1762. S.W. 1764-1772. W.M. 1773 and 1777. Presented Lodge with Mahogany Pedestal and Balloting Box, 27th Decr. 1773. Last attendance 2nd July 1788.
- Ker, Richard Gervas*, Esquire. Proposed by John Loder and elected 15th May 1776. "Made a Member of this Lodge, paid his Fine and Deposit, and received a Certificate" 16th May, 1776. Gave a guinea towards three Candlesticks 12th April 1777. Did not again attend. Joined Lodge of Alfred, Oxford, 27th June 1776 (*A.Q.C.* xxii., p. 172.)
- Kerrick, John, Junr.*, Esquire, Harleston, Norfolk. Proposed by Robt. Partridge at request of Prov.G.M. and elected 24th Octr., 1786. E.A. 1st Novr. 1786. F.C. & M.M. 3rd January 1787. Attended as a Visitor 8th Augt. 1787.
- Kerrison, Edward*, Cornet, Enniskillen Dragoons, Norwich. Initiated 18th Decr. 1796. Born 1774. Became a General in Army. Created Baronet 8th August 1821. Received G.C.H. and K.C.B. Died 9th March 1853.
- Kerrison, Thomas Allday*, Banker, Norwich. Initiated 7th July, 1790. Exalted R.A. 19th July 1793. Sheriff of Norwich 1798. Alderman 1803. Mayor 1806. Died 12th October 1818, aged 50.
- Keymer, Henry*, Auctioneer and Valuer, East Dereham, Norfolk. Proposed by John Arnham and elected 8th Septr. 1757. "Admitted Brother" 8th Decr. 1757. Attended Lodge 27th Decr. 1757 but did not attend again.

- Lambert, Benjamin*, Captain, The Queen's Regiment. No record of proposal but admitted Joining Member 27th Decr. 1777. Perhaps proposed when he attended Lodge as a Visitor 26th Decr. 1777. Attended as a Visitor 4th April 1781.
- Lambert, Peter Warren*, Lieutenant, 9th Foot, Norwich. Initiated 4th May 1797, but no further information available.
- Lane, Robert*. Ordered to be admitted a Mason as Master of The Thatched House Tavern, where Lodge met, 4th Novr. 1762. E.A. 2nd Decr. 1762. Does not appear to have been a Member at that time although attended 27th Decr. 1764, 27th Decr. 1769 and 8th April 1772. Shown as a Member in Lodge List of 1773. F.C. 30th March 1774. Did not attend again until 5th Febr. 1777 when acted as Deputy J.W. Last attendance 5th March 1777.
- Larking, John*, of Stockwith, Lincolnshire. Proposed by Edward Leeds and elected 1st May 1777. E.A. 7th May 1777. F.C. & M.M. 27th Decr. 1777. Attended as a Visitor 1st April 1778.
- Lawe, William*, Surgeon, Queen's Bays. Initiated 18th Sept. 1794. Age given as 24 years.
- Leath, Richard*, of East Dereham, Norfolk. Proposed by John Arnham and elected 8th Sept. 1757. "Admitted Brother" 8th Decr. 1757, but never attended again.
- Leeds, Edward*, Hop Merchant, Importer of Foreign Spirits and Brush Maker, St. Andrew's Parish, Norwich. Proposed by Edward Loder and elected Joining Member 23rd Decr. 1773. Admitted 27th Decr. 1773. Initiated at Kings Head Lodge. J.W. 1777. S.W. 1778. W.M. 1779. A Member when Minutes cease in 1789.
- Leeds, William Clayton*, Dyer in partnership with Henry Dawson, Norwich. Proposed by John Athow 5th Febr. 1783. Elected 17th Febr. 1783. E.A. 5th March 1783. F.C. & M.M. 4th June 1783. A Member when Minutes close in 1789. A Member of Norwich Society of Artists exhibiting in 1805.
- Le Gryce, John*, Attorney-at-Law, Norwich. Name appears in G. Lodge List for 1725. Born 21st April 1700. Alderman of City 1730. Died May 1749.
- Leigh, William*, Clerk in Holy Orders. Proposed by Dr. Samuel Parr 3rd August 1785. Elected and E.A. 23rd August 1785. F.C. & M.M. 27th Decr. 1785. Did not attend again. Rector of Brundall with Witton and Little Plumstead 1779-1808.
- Le Moyne, John*, Merchant from Cadiz. Proposed by Cornelius Van Driel and elected 1st June 1775. A Member of the Prince of Clermont Lodge at Rouen. "Admitted a Member and at his own Request took the Obligations anew," 5th July 1775. Did not attend again.
- Lewis, Loyson*, Linen Draper, Norwich—afterwards removing to London. Proposed by Edward Crane and elected a Joining Member 1st Novr. 1781. Admitted 7th Novr. 1781. Initiated at the Lodge at the Green Man, Ilford, Essex. Secy. & Treas. 1783 and 1784. Last attendance 27th Decr. 1784.
- Loddington, John*, First Lieutenant of Marines. Proposed by Robert Partridge 6th Decr. 1785. Elected, E.A., F.C. and M.M. 14th Decr. 1785. Attended as Visitor, then Captain, 7th January 1789.
- Loder, John*, Hatter and Hosier, Norwich. Proposed by John Dawson 7th April 1773. Elected Joining Member 3rd May 1773. Admitted 5th May 1773. Age on admission 40. Presented Lodge with "a handsome Silver Jewell Gilt to be worn by the Master" 11th August 1773. J.W. 1774. S.W. 1775. W.M. 1776. A Member when Minutes close in 1789.

- Love, Barry*, Esquire, Ormesby, Norfolk. Name appears in G. Lodge List for 1725. Mayor of Yarmouth 1734. High Sheriff Norfolk 1745.
- Lowde, Robert*. Proposed by Robert Jollins and elected 27th Decr. 1772. E.A. 10th March 1773. F.C. & M.M. 13th Febr. 1775. J.W. 1776. Last attendance 5th June 1776.
- Loyterton, Paul*, Dyer, Norwich. Proposed by Cornelius Van Driel 3rd June 1778. Elected 1st July 1778. E.A. 5th Augt. 1778. Age on initiation 30. Secy. & Treas. 1780. F.C. & M.M. 1st Febr. 1780. Last attendance 6th Decr. 1780.
- Lulman, Robert*. Proposed by Henry Brown and elected 19th Decr. 1755. E.A. 27th Decr. 1755. F.C. & M.M. 27th Decr. 1758. Never attended the Lodge again.
- Mack, David*, Ensign, Norwich Volunteers. Initiated 18th Sept. 1794. Age given as 23 years.
- Mackensie, Alexander*, Cornet, 11th Regt. Light Dragoons. Proposed by John Loder in name of Robert Partridge and elected noon 3rd June 1789. E.A. Evening 3rd June 1789. F.C. & M.M. 1st July, 1789. Exalted R.A. 22nd April 1790.
- Mallitt, Dr.* ———. "Requested to be admitted Member of this Lodge and paid his subscription accordingly" 1st July 1789. Had attended Lodge as a Visitor 3rd June 1789.
- Maltby, Thomas*, Merchant, Norwich. Proposed by Robert Partridge 4th May 1785. Elected and E.A. 1st June 1785. M.M. (probably F.C. as well, but no record) 4th October 1785. A Member when Minutes close in 1789. Exalted R.A. 16th November 1792.
- Mann, John*, Merchant, Cley, Norfolk. Proposed by John Hammond Cole August 1788. Elected and E.A. 1st Oct. 1788. F.C. & M.M. 3rd Decr. 1788. Attended as Visitor 4th February 1789.
- Mann, Robert*, Lieut., Cambridge Militia, Norwich. Initiated 3rd February 1796. Age given as 39 years.
- Marks, John*, Merchant, Norwich. Shown in 1745 Lodge List as admitted May 1741. J.W. 1745. W.M. 1749. S.W. 1754 and 1759. Last attendance in Lodge 7th April 1763.
- Marks, Thomas*, Plumber, Glazier and Painter, Norwich. Visited Lodge 5th Nov. 1783. Proposed as a Member by John Browne 7th Sept. 1785. Elected 4th Oct. 1785. Age on admission 40. Last recorded attendance 5th Decr. 1787. Exalted R.A. 24th January 1774. Coroner for Norwich 1783.
- Marks, Thomas*, Esquire, Norwich. Stated in G. Lodge Country Register to have joined Lodge 5th Nov. 1794. Perhaps the same man as Thomas Marks, Plumber, and re-joined.
- Marsh, George*, Merchant, Norwich. Joined the Lodge August 1790. No further information available.
- Marsh, Robert, Junr.*, Merchant, Norwich. Proposed by James Moore 2nd May 1787. Elected and E.A. 7th June 1787. F.C. & M.M. 4th July 1787. "Expressed his desire of being admitted a Member at Xmas next if agreeable to the Brotherhood" 1st Oct. 1788. A Member when Minutes cease. Ran London Stage Wagons 1783 to 1800 and later.
- Marshall, Abraham*, Wine Merchant, Norwich. Proposed by John Dawson and elected 7th Febr. 1776. Admitted Member 1st May 1776. Age on admission 36. Secy. & Treas. 1779. J.W. 1780. S.W. 1781. A Member when Minutes cease. Belonged to other Norwich Lodges.

- Micklethwaite, Nathaniel*, Esquire, Beeston St. Lawrence Hall, Norfolk. Proposed by Richard Ward by desire of Thomas Johnson and elected 7th March 1751. "Admitted a Brother" 14th March 1751. Only other attendance in Lodge was on 4th April 1751. Died in 1757, aged 28.
- Miles, Edward*, Miniature Portrait Painter, Norwich. Proposed by Edward Leeds and elected 27th Decr. 1777. E.A. 4th Febr'y 1778. F.C. & M.M. 4th March 1778. Subsequently shown as a Visitor on twenty occasions between 4th Novr. 1778 and 7th November 1787.
- Mingay, William*, Gentleman. Proposed by Alderman Goodman and elected 7th March 1751. "Admitted a Brother" 14th March 1751. "Raised Master" 27th Decr. 1752. S.W. 1753. W.M. 1754 and 1755. Last attendance in Lodge 6th October 1757.
- Money, James*. Proposed by Robert Jollins and elected 17th Decr. 1754. E.A. 27th Decr. 1754. F.C. 5th June 1755. M.M. 28th July 1755. Acted as Deputy Secretary 4th Decr. 1755. Last attendance in Lodge 27th Decr. 1757. Elected Councillor Great Ward of Wymer, Norwich, 1757. Paid fine for being discharged from serving office of Sheriff of Norwich 1761.
- Moore, Francis*, Captain, 11th Regt. of Dragoons. Proposed by Robt. Partridge at request of Jay Bracey and elected 2nd Septr. 1782. E.A. 4th Septr. 1782. F.C. & M.M. 2nd Octr. 1782. Attended Lodge five times in 1782 and 1783, and on 6th Augt. 1783 proposed Cornet R. Barry, of 11th Dragoons. Visited on 4th Novr. 1789 as Major Moore and acted as Past Master.
- Moore, James*. Shown in Grand Lodge Country Register as a Member. No particulars or date, but probably about 1792.
- Moore, James, Junr.*, Dyer, Norwich. Proposed by Robert Partridge 1st June 1785. Elected Joining Member "having been made a Mason at Bro. Dye's the Cow in St. Giles's, Norwich, No. 135," 6th July 1785. Age on admission 26. "Raised to the 3^d. Degree" 5th July 1786. Last attendance in Lodge 1st Octr. 1788. Exalted R.A. 16th November 1792.
- Morse, Francis*, Cornet, Enniskillen Dragoons, Norwich. Initiated 25th January 1797. No further information available.
- Mott, Thomas Virtue*, Esquire, Briningham, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Barrow 7th June 1786. Elected 5th July 1786. E.A. 2nd Augt. 1786. F.C. & M.M. 3rd Octr. 1786. Age on admission 25. Last attendance in Lodge 5th March 1788.
- Mountenay, William*, "Waiter at ye Swan," Norwich. Initiated 18th Decr. 1796 "to wait at Lodge."
- Mountney, Thomas*, Landlord, Swan Inn, Norwich. Initiated 5th December 1792.
- Moyle, Thomas Coppinger*, Major, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel 28th Regiment Foot. Proposed by Robert Partridge and elected Joining Member 7th Febr'y. 1781. Again proposed by Robert Partridge 3rd Novr. 1784. No record of any Ballot. Last attendance in Lodge 6th Decr. 1786.
- Musgrave, Christopher*, Esquire. Proposed by Thomas Havers 22nd Septr. 1785. Elected and E.A. 4th Octr. 1785. F.C. & M.M. 2nd Novr. 1785. Attended as Visitor 1st Nov. 1786.
- Newcastle, Thomas Pelham*, Duke of. Made a Mason at an Emergency Meeting of Lodge held at Houghton Hall, Norfolk in November 1731.
- Nicholson, John Payler*, Clerk in Holy Orders. Proposed by Edward Barrow, 5th Febr'y. 1783. Elected 17th Febr'y. 1783. E.A. 5th March 1783. Last attendance in Lodge 5th November 1783.

- Norris, Jeremiah*, Esquire, Colney, Norfolk. Proposed by Hon. Henry Hobart 1st Octr. 1788. Elected, E.A. and F.C. 29th Octr. 1788. Attended once more, as a Visitor, on 7th January 1789.
- Norris, Jeremiah, Junr.*, Norwich. Initiated 3rd April 1793, but no other information available.
- Nuthall, John*, Esquire, Norwich. Shown in 1745 Lodge List as having been admitted June 1731. W.M. 1750 and 1758. Last attendance as a Member 6th Decr. 1759. Attended as a Visitor nineteen times subsequently, last attendance being 27th Decr. 1774. Elected an Alderman, Norwich, 1735.
- Osborne, Edward*, Esquire. Proposed by John Chamber by letter to W.M. and elected 20th May 1755. E.A. 5th June 1755. F.C. & M.M. 28th July 1755. Did not attend again.
- Osborne, William*, Captain, Queen's Regiment. Visited Lodge 26th Decr. 1777. Admitted Member of Lodge 27th Decr. 1777, and attended four times 1778, the last being 6th May 1778. Visited Lodge after promotion to Major twice in 1787 and three times in 1788.
- Page, Robert*. Shown in Lodge List of 1745 as having been admitted Decr. 1729. W.M. 1743. S.W. 1748. Last attendance 19th April 1769. In 1765 gave £100 to Doughty's Hospital, Norwich.
- Parr, Samuel*, Clerk in Holy Orders, LL.D. Proposed by Revd. J. P. Nicholson 6th Augt. 1783. Elected 3rd Septr. 1783. E.A. 4th Octr. 1783. F.C. 5th Novr. 1783. M.M. 3rd March 1784. Last attendance 2nd Novr. 1785. Born Harrow January 15th 1747. Master, Harrow, 1767-1771. Schoolmaster, Stanmore, 1771-1776. Headmaster, Colchester Grammar School, 1776-1778. Headmaster, Norwich Grammar School, 1778-1786. Vicar, Hatton, nr. Warwick, 1783-1789. Vicar, Wadenhoe, Northants, 1789-1825, but resided at Hatton, where he died on 6th March 1825. Prebendary, St. Paul's. Prolific writer and famous for epitaphs, &c.
- Parrish, William*. Proposed by John Chamber by letter to W.M., and elected 20th May 1755. E.A. 5th June 1755. F.C. & M.M. 3rd July 1755. Did not attend again.
- Partridge, Robert*, Merchant, Norwich. Initiated, Lodge of St. Charles of Concord, Brunswick, Germany. Proposed by Thomas Baseley and elected Joining Member 23rd Decr. 1773. Admitted 27th Decr. 1773. S.W. 1777. Gave one guinea towards three candlesticks 27th Decr. 1776. W.M. 1778, 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1790. Entertained Brethren to Dinner 27th Decr. 1784. Portrait painted by Sir Wm. Beechey, P.R.A., at expense of Lodge 2nd March 1785. A Member when Minutes close. Exalted R.A. 23rd February 1786. Alderman. Sheriff, Norwich, 1780. Mayor 1781. Capt., Norwich Vol. Battn. 1803. D.P.G.M. Norfolk 1786-1817. Died 14th February 1817.
- Patteson, John*, Esquire, Norwich. Formerly of the London Lodge. Proposed by Robert Partridge and elected 2nd April 1777. Admitted 12th April 1777, and gave a guinea towards three candlesticks. Last attendance 27th Decr. 1781. Lieut.-Col., Norwich Vol. Battn 1803. M.P., Norwich, 1806-1812.
- Pearson, Robert*, Stationer, Norwich. Initiated 4th March 1795. No further information available.
- Pecte, William*, Esquire, Norwich. Proposed by Robert Partridge and elected 25th Septr. 1778. "Made and rais'd Master" 27th Decr. 1778. Did not attend again.
- Playters, John*, Esquire. Proposed by James Royal and elected 3rd April 1755. E.A. 1st May 1755. F.C. 5th June 1755. M.M. 28th July 1755. Last attendance in Lodge 12th Septr. 1758.

- Plowman, George*, Captain, Yarmouth. Proposed by Thomas Baseley and elected 1st June 1775. E.A., F.C. and M.M. 7th June 1775. Did not attend again.
- Pratt, Edward*, Esquire, Ryston House, Downham Market, Norfolk. Proposed by John Atthow at the request of Sir Jacob Astley and Charles Collyer, and elected 26th Decr. 1781. E.A. & F.C. 27th Decr. 1781. Attended as Visitor 3rd Augt. 1785 and 23rd Augt. 1785. M.M. 23rd Augt. 1785. Visited three times afterwards, last being 3rd January 1787. Unsuccessfully contested Norfolk for Parliament on death of Sir Jacob Astley 1817. Died 5th March 1838, aged 82.
- Prideaux, Edmund*, son of Revd. Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich. Name appears in Grand Lodge for 1725. 1st W.M. 1724. Died July 1745. Noted as an Antiquary.
- Pye, Richard*. Proposed by Wm. Wickes and elected Joining Member 4th Octr. 1759. J.W. 1761. Last attendance in Lodge 2nd June 1763.
- Rand, John*. Proposed by Robert Jollins and elected 17th Decr. 1754. "Made a Brother" 27th Decr. 1754. Three further attendances, last being 1st May 1755. Common Councillor, Norwich, 1735.
- Randell, Benjamin*. Proposed by Thomas Craske and elected 24th Decr. 1757. E.A. & F.C. 27th Decr. 1757. Three further attendances, last being 27th Decr. 1760.
- Ransome, Richard*. Name appears in Grand Lodge List for 1725. A Draper, Market Place, Norwich. Died about June 1729.
- Reynolds, George*, Ensign, 9th Regt. Foot. Proposed by John Loder 2nd Octr. 1782. Elected 29th Octr. 1782. E.A. 6th Novr. 1782. F.C. 2nd April 1783. Did not attend again.
- Rive, James*, Gentleman, of London. Initiated 5th March 1794. Age given as 36. No further information available.
- Rouch, Edward*, Tailor, of Norwich. Admitted as a Joining Member 3rd June 1794. Age give as 45. Exalted R.A. 17th February 1791. Also belonged to Union Lodge and Union Coffee House Lodge.
- Roach, John*, Gentleman, Norwich. Proposed by Edward Crane 7th Novr. 1787. Elected 5th Decr. 1787. E.A. 2nd January 1788. F.C. & M.M. 1st July 1789. A Member when Minutes close.
- Roe, Nathaniel*, Goldsmith, Norwich. Appears as a Member in G. Lodge List 1725. No longer a Member in 1745, although attended as a Member 27th Decr. 1744. Visited Lodge seven times between 27th Decr. 1750 and 3rd June 1755.
- Rogers, Joseph*. Visited Lodge 7th August 1755. "By unanimous consent of Brethren present admitted Member" 4th Septr. 1755. F.C. 27th Decr. 1755. M.M. 27th Decr. 1757. J.W. 1758. Last attendance in Lodge 6th Decr. 1758.
- Rolf, John*. Appears as a Member and J.W. in G. Lodge List of 1725. No further information available.
- Rolfe, Robert*, Clerk in Holy Orders, Swaffham. Admitted a Joining Member 7th March 1792.
- Rooke, Hayman*, Captain. Elected 14th May 1745. "Admitted a Member" 21st May 1745. "Admitted Master" 11th June 1745. Did not attend again.
- Rookes, John*, Timber Merchant, Norwich. Admitted a Joining Member 5th February 1794. Age given as 30.
- Royal, James*, Innkeeper, Norwich. Shown in 1745 Lodge List as Admitted Decr. 1735. "Made Master" 27th Decr. 1744. Last attendance 27th Decr. 1755. Landlord of The Three Tuns Inn and afterwards of the Angel Tavern. Died 1756-1757.

Russell, Thomas. Appears as a Member in G. Lodge List of 1725. No longer a Member in 1743.

Schutz, William, Captain of 3rd or Coldstream Guards. Proposed by Robert Partridge and elected 3rd Decr. 1777. E.A. 26th Decr. 1777. F.C. & M.M. 27th Decr. 1777. Last attendance in Lodge 8th Octr. 1778.

Scottowe, John, Cornet, Queen's Bays. Initiated 3rd June 1794. Age given as 23. No further information available.

Selby, Thomas, Upholder, Norwich. Admitted Joining Member 5th February 1794. Age given as 26. No further information available.

Shelly, Henry, Cornet, 11th Regt. Light Dragoons. Proposed by John Loder in name of Robert Partridge and elected noon 3rd June 1789. E.A. & F.C. evening 3rd June 1789. Did not attend again.

Simpson, William, Gentleman, Norwich. Proposed by John Dawson 2nd March 1774. Elected 30th March 1774. E.A. 4th May 1774. F.C. & M.M. 13th Febr. 1775. Last attendance as Member 16th May 1776. Visited Lodge 12th April 1777. City Chamberlain, Norwich, 1792-1826. Town Clerk and Clerk of the Peace 1826-1834. Treasurer, County of Norfolk. Died Decr. 5th 1834.

Singleton, John. Appears as a Member in Grand Lodge List of 1725, but not in Lodge List of 1745.

Slarke, John. Shown in Lodge List of 1745 as having been admitted January 1732. S.W. 1743. W.M. 1744. J.W. 1747. Last attendance in Lodge 2nd April 1761.

Smith, Thomas. Proposed and elected 17th Decr. 1745. "Admitted a Brother" 27th Decr. 1745. Last attendance in Lodge 6th August 1747.

Stackpole, ———, Lieut. Enniskillen Dragoons, Norwich. Initiated 6th January 1796. Age given as 24.

Stokeley, John, Gentleman, Dereham, Norfolk. Proposed by John Browne 5th April 1780. Elected 3rd May 1780. E.A. 7th June 1780. Age on admission 25. Last attendance as Member 5th July 1780, but visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1780.

Stoughton, Peter, Gentleman, Wymondham. Proposed by John Arnham 28th July 1755. Elected 7th Augt. 1755. E.A. 4th Septr. 1755. F.C. 27th Decr. 1755. M.M. 8th Decr. 1757. Last attendance in Lodge 24th Decr. 1757.

Strickland, Walter, Captain of the — Regiment of Guards. Proposed by Robert Partridge and elected 13th Augt. 1779. E.A. 1st Septr. 1779. F.C. & M.M. 8th Septr. 1779. Did not attend again.

Suckling, Robert, Captain. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1778 from 99 Regimental Lodge. Visited ten times between that date and 7th May 1783. Proposed by John Atthow and elected Joining Member 7th May 1783. Age on admission given as 40. Last attendance as Member 2nd January 1788. Attended as a Visitor 4th Novr. 1789. Exalted R.A. 17th Novr. 1785.

Suffield, Robert, Junr., Gentleman, Norwich. Initiated 8th January 1794. Age given as 21. Son of Robert Suffield, Wine Merchant, 94, St. Giles St., Norwich. Afterwards Captain Norfolk Militia. The Family of Suffield appears to have been Roman Catholic.

Sutton, Henry, Gentleman, Framingham, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Leeds 11th June 1777. Elected 16th June 1777. E.A. 2nd July 1777. F.C. & M.M. 12th Augt. 1777. Shortly afterwards travelled to Bordeaux, France. Visited Lodge 2nd Septr. and 8th Octr. 1778, then a Member of the Lodge of Friendship at Bordeaux.

- Taswell*, ———, Clerk in Holy Orders, Aylsham, Norfolk. Visited Lodge three times in 1782. Proposed by Hon. Henry Hobart 4th Decr. 1782. Elected 27th Decr. 1782. Did not attend again.
- Tempest*, *Richard*. Appears as a Member and S.W. in Grand Lodge List of 1725, but not in Lodge List of 1745.
- Tilbury*, *Thomas*, Wine Merchant, Norwich. "Admitted a Member and paid his Deposit" 5th August 1778. Age on admission 46. Landlord of White Swan Inn where Lodge met. A Member when Minutes cease.
- Till*, *Robert*. Appears as a Member in Grand Lodge List of 1725, but is not in Lodge List of 1745.
- Timms*, *Richard*, Ensign 9th Regiment Foot. Proposed by Jay Bracey 29th Octr. 1782. Elected and "Admitted Member" 6th Novr. 1782. Did not attend again.
- Tinling*, *Isaac Patteson*, Brigade Major, Norwich. Initiated 3rd May 1797. Exalted R.A. May 12th 1797 where age given as 34.
- Tuffnell*, *Samuel*, Captain 1st Regt. Foot Guards. Initiated 1st February 1791. Age given as 23.
- Twiss*, *Richard*. Shown in 1745 List as having been admitted March 1743. Secy. & Treas. 1744. S.W. 1745. Secy. & Treas. 1746, 1747. W.M. 1748. J.W. 1751. Last attendance as Member 6th Augt. 1752. Visited four times between 6th June 1754 and 20th May 1755, when desired to be re-admitted Member and elected. Re-admitted 5th June 1755. Last attendance 6th May 1756.
- Utting*, *Thomas*, ———, Woodhastwick, Norfolk. Proposed by John Harrison, Junr., and elected Joining Member 29th Sept. 1773. Admitted 2nd Octr. 1773. F.C. 30th March 1774. Last attendance in Lodge 2nd August 1775.
- Van Driel*, *Cornelius*, ———, Norwich. Proposed by John Loder and elected 5th April, 1775. Admitted Joining Member 3rd May 1775, having previously been a Member of the Caledonian Lodge at the Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside, London. Last attendance in Lodge 5th May, 1779.
- Vane*, *William Walter*, Captain 1st Regt. Foot Guards. Initiated 1st February 1791. Age given as 22.
- Vatchell*, *William*, Captain 45th Foot, Norwich. Initiated 3rd May 1797. Exalted R.A. 12th May 1797, when age given as 27.
- Vavasour*, *Walter Ascough Fawkes*, ——— 15th Regt. Dragoons. Proposed by Thomas Havers, Elected and Initiated 4th February 1784. Did not attend again.
- Ward*, *John*, Brewer, East Dereham, Norfolk. Proposed by Richard Ward 28th July 1755. Elected 7th Augt. 1755. E.A. 4th Sept. 1755. F.C. 27th Decr. 1755. M.M. 8th Decr. 1757, that being his last attendance in Lodge as Member. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1759.
- Ward*, *Richard*. Shown in Lodge List of 1745 as having been admitted March 1743. J.W. 1746. S.W. on death of Bro. Woode 4th Sept. 1746. Secy. & Treas. 1748-1750. W.M. 1751. Secy. & Treas. 1752-1754. S.W. 1757. Last attendance in Lodge 20th Sept. 1762. On 7th July 1763 Lodge resolved that he should not thereafter be considered a Member unless he paid his arrears.
- Warden*, *Francis*. Proposed by Robert Page and elected 15th July 1755. E.A. 2nd Octr. 1755. F.C. 27th Decr. 1755. M.M. 27th Decr. 1757. J.W. 1759. Last attendance in Lodge 1st Febry. 1759 during year of office.

- Watts, Stephen*, Captain 8th Regt. Foot. Proposed by Robert Partridge 27th Decr. 1780. Elected 29th Decr. 1780. E.A. 3rd Jany. 1781. F.C. & M.M. 11th January 1781. Attended once afterwards as a Visitor on 7th February 1781.
- Wells, William*. Proposed by John Arnham and elected 15th January 1762. "Made a Member" 11th March 1762. Three attendances afterwards, the last being 2nd Sept. 1762. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1774.
- Wickes, William*. Shown in Lodge List of 1745 as being admitted February 1740. J.W. 1744. W.M. 1747. S.W. 1752. J.W. 1754, 1756 and 1760. Last attendance in Lodge as a Member 3rd August 1762, but visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1763 and 27th Decr. 1774.
- Wier, Launcelot*, Lieutenant 62nd Regiment Foot. Proposed by Jay Bracey 5th July 1782. Elected 30th July 1782. E.A. 7th Augt. 1782. Attended as Visitor 4th Sept. 1782. F.C. & M.M. 2nd October 1782. Did not attend again.
- Wilcoron, John*. Appears as a Member in Grand Lodge List of 1725, but not in Lodge List of 1745. Apparently was a Trader in Norwich who retired from business in 1731.
- Wilder, Francis John*, Captain Norwich Volunteers. Initiated 1st October 1794. Age given as 21.
- Williment, William*. Grocer, Norwich. Proposed by Loyson Lewis 2nd Octr. 1782. Elected Joining Member 29th Octr. 1782. Admitted Member 6th Novr. 1782. Last attendance in Lodge 2nd March 1785. Sheriff, Norwich, 1816. Subsequently removed to Colchester, Essex. Died of Cholera in London 28th July 1832.
- Wilson, George*, Esquire, Redgrave, Suffolk. Proposed by Robert Partridge by request of Provl. G.M. and elected 24th Octr. 1786. E.A. 1st Novr. 1786. F.C. & M.M. 3rd Jany. 1787, when shown as a Visitor. Did not attend again.
- Wodehouse, Philip*, Lieut. in Navy, Norwich. Initiated 6th January 1796. Age given as 22. Second son of John first Baron Wodehouse, of Kimberley, Norfolk. Born 16th July 1773. Became Vice-Admiral of the White. Died 21st January 1838.
- Woode, Thomas, Junr.*, Braconash, Norfolk. Shown in Lodge List of 1745 as having been admitted March 1743. Secy. & Treas. 1745. S.W. 1746. Last attendance 5th June 1746. Died 11th July 1746.
- Wright, Francis*. Proposed by Wm. Mingay and elected Joining Member 3rd June 1755. Admitted 5th June 1755. Did not attend again.
- Wright, Samuel*, Captain 15th Regiment Dragoons. Proposed by Thomas Havers, elected and E.A. 4th Febry. 1784. F.C. & M.M. 3rd May 1786, when he attended as a Visitor.
- Wyatt, William*. Proposed by Thomas Craske and elected Joining Member 6th March 1760. Admitted 3rd April 1760. Last attendance in Lodge 1st October 1761.
- Young, Robert*. Shown in Grand Lodge Country Register as a Member without particulars or date, but probably about 1792.
- Younge, Thomas*, Clerk in Holy Orders, Necton, Norfolk. Initiated 7th March 1792. Rector of Holm Hale with Necton 1794-1838.

APPENDIX II.

List of Persons proposed as Members but never initiated or admitted.

- Aylett*, ———, Cornet of the 15th Dragoons. Proposed by Thomas Havers 4th October 1785. Elected 6th Decr. 1785. Never initiated in the Lodge.
- Batchelor*, *Horatio*, Esquire. No proposal recorded, but elected 7th February 1787. Never initiated in the Lodge.
- Becher*, ———, Captain of ——— Regiment. Proposed by John Loder and elected 13th August 1779. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Bullock*, *Coleby*, Clerk in Holy Orders, Rector of Shipdham, Norfolk, 1754-1804. Proposed by Robert Jollins 3rd December 1783. Elected 27th Decr. 1783. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Burton*, *William*, Esquire, near Bury, Suffolk. Proposed by Thomas Tilbury 1st Febr. 1786. Elected 1st March 1786. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Byron*, ———, Captain. Proposed by John Loder and elected 1st November 1775. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Clever*, ———. Proposed by Robert Jollins as a Joining Member 1st Novr. 1781. No record of any ballot nor of this Brother ever having attended Lodge either as Visitor or Member.
- Clover*, *Joseph*, *Junr.* Visited Lodge 2nd August 1786. Proposed by Robert Partridge as Joining Member 6th Sept. 1786. Elected 3rd Oct. 1786. Visited 5th March 1788, but rejected as a Member on account of non-payment of fees.
- Cotton*, *Thomas*, Merchant, Yarmouth. Proposed by John Hale 6th Decr. 1785. Elected 14th Decr. 1785. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Dewhurst*, *John*, Gentleman. Proposed by Edward Crane 3rd January 1787. Elected 7th Febr. 1787. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Dobson*, *Charles*, Cornet 1st Regt. Dragoons. Proposed by Robt. Partridge 27th Decr. 1780. Elected 29th Decr. 1780. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Ellison*, *Henry*, Cornet 15th Regiment Dragoons. Proposed by R. Partridge and elected 2nd Novr. 1784. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Farrell*, *Walter Edward*, Clerk in Holy Orders, Swaffham, Norfolk. Proposed by Jacob Astley 27th Decr. 1781. Elected 6th Feby. 1782. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Gallins*, *Andrew*, Norwich. Proposed by John Dawson and elected 5th June 1776. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Larwood*, ———, Clerk in Holy Orders. Proposed by John Loder and elected 6th July 1774. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Marsham*, *Robert*, *Junr.*, Esquire, Stratton Strawless, Norfolk. Proposed by Robert Jollins 1st Decr. 1773. Elected 23rd Decr. 1773. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Monro*, *George*, Esquire. Proposed by Robert Partridge at request of W. E. Bulwer 6th Decr. 1786. Elected 3rd January 1787. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Munnings*, *Thomas Crowe*, Clerk in Holy Orders, Beteley with East Bilney, Norfolk. Proposed by John Loder and elected 24th June 1783. Never initiated in Lodge.
- Payne*, *George*, Acle, Norfolk. Proposed by Edward Heath 7th Sept. 1774. No record of any ballot or initiation in the Lodge.

- Rackham, Matthew*, Norwich. Proposed by Robert Jollins and elected 27th Decr. 1772. Apparently refused to be initiated, for on 2nd March 1774 resolved that "for his contempt" he was not to be made nor admitted as a Visitor if made elsewhere.
- Robertson, Levi*, Gentleman, Heigham, Norwich. Proposed by Revd. Mr. Hanmer 4th April 1787. Elected 2nd May 1787, but not initiated.
- Rose, John Payler*. Proposed by Edward Barrow 4th Febry. 1784. Elected 3rd March 1784, but never initiated in Lodge.
- Wyndham, George*, Esquire, Cromer, Norfolk. Proposed by Robert Partridge 7th March 1787. Elected 4th April 1787. Never initiated in Lodge.

APPENDIX III.

List of Visiting Brethren who were never Members of the Lodge.

- Adamson, George*, of Three Compasses, Silver Street, Golden Square, London. Visited Lodge 3rd Septr. 1777, 2nd Septr. 1778 and 2nd June 1779.
- Alder, Luke*, of London. Visited Lodge 2nd August 1750. Grand Steward 1744.
- Amyott, Peter*, Clock and Watch Maker and Perfumer, Norwich, of Union Coffee House Lodge. Visited Lodge 10th March 1773.
- Armstrong, John*, of St. Lukes, Edinburgh. Visited Lodge 7th April 1779.
- Bacon, Allen*, of Lodge of Friendship, Norwich. Visited Lodge 22nd Septr. 1785.
- Bailey, John*, of No. 4 British, London. Visited Lodge 1st June 1785. G.L. Register gives 1st June 1785 as the date of his initiation in No. 4 British.
- Bannister, Charles*, Actor and Vocalist, of London. Visited Lodge 5th March 1788.
- Barlow, Levi*, Cornfactor and Maltster, of Union Coffee House Lodge, Norwich. Visited Lodge 6th June and 3rd October 1751.
- Barnard, John*, Merchant, Norwich. Visited Lodge 1st Septr. 1779.
- Barnham, Richard*, Worsted Weaver, of Lodge of Eleusinian Mysteries, Norwich. Visited Lodge 22nd Septr. 1785. Exalted R.A. 24th January 1779.
- Barwick, Anthony*, of No. 194 Mitre Lodge, London. Visited Lodge 8th August 1787.
- Basey, F——— T———*. Visited Lodge 3rd Decr. 1788.
- Bennett, John*. Visited Lodge 7th February 1754.
- Berry, Christopher*, Bookseller, Binder and Stationer, of Union Coffee House Lodge, Norwich. Visited Lodge 14th March 1751.
- Berney, Robert*, Esquire, of Caledonian Lodge, London. Visited Lodge 6th February and 5th March 1788.
- Berney, ———*, Captain. Visited Lodge 29th Octr. 1788.
- Bidwell, William*. Visited Lodge 3rd June 1789.
- Bircham, Samuel*. Visited Lodge 7th June, 1780.

- Blokhuyzen, M——— H———*. Visited Lodge 1st March 1786.
- Bore, John*, Innholder, Norwich, of Lodge of Eleusinian Mysteries. Visited Lodge 22nd Septr. 1785. Was exalted R.A. 19th Septr. 1781.
- Branfill, Champion*, Captain. Visited Lodge 5th Septr. 1787 and 2nd January 1788.
- Buchanan, Thomas*. Visited Lodge 36 times between 27th Decr. 1743 and 5th May 1748. Is shown twice as a Member in 1746 and nine times as a Member in 1747 and 1748. No record of admission, and name not in Lodge Lists of Members. Entertains Lodge "at the Castle" 17th July 1746.
- Buttivant, William*. Visited Lodge 23rd August 1783.
- Caley, Samuel*. Visited Lodge 5th Decr. 1754.
- Campbell, ——*, Captain. Visited Lodge 7th Nov. and 5th Decr. 1787, and three times in 1788.
- Case, ——*. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1782.
- Chaban, Peter*, Major. Visited Lodge 26th Nov. and 5th Decr. 1754.
- Churchman, Thomas*, Esquire. Visited Lodge 5th Decr. 1754. Son of Alderman Thomas Churchman. Sheriff of Norwich 1757. Mayor 1761. Knighted during Mayoralty. Died 4th Decr. 1781, aged 79. Gave £1,500 by his Will to Norwich and Norfolk Charities.
- Clarke, Simon*. Visited Lodge 3rd and 28th July 1755.
- Claxton, James*. Visited Lodge 22nd Septr. 1785 and 21st January 1786.
- Collins, ——*, of Lodge 49. Visited Lodge 3rd Novr. 1784.
- Collis, Richard*. Visited Lodge 5th Decr. 1754.
- Cooper, James*. Visited Lodge 5th December 1754.
- Crockett, Martin*, Bookseller and Binder. Visited Lodge 22nd Sept. 1785. Initiated Social Lodge Decr. 7th 1773, aged 23. Also belonged to several other Lodges in Norwich. Exalted R.A. 22nd March 1778.
- Crowe, ——*. Visited Lodge 3rd May 1775.
- Cunningham, William*. Visited Lodge 2nd March 1749.
- Davey, Thomas*, Schoolmaster, of Union Coffee House Lodge. Visited Lodge 4th May and 1st June 1758.
- Degaville, Peter*, of St. John's Lodge, Spa. Visited Lodge 1st June 1785.
- Delight, Aaron*, Boot and Shoe Maker. Visited Lodge 7th November 1754.
- Dye, John*. Visited Lodge 22nd Septr. 1785 and 21st January 1786.
- Eadon, John*, from Lodge No. 72, Sheffield. Visited Lodge 4th Octr. 1785. Presented Lodge with pair of Masonic Snuffers. A Mason belonging to an Antient Lodge.
- Elstobb, William*, of Lynn, Norfolk. Visited Lodge 1st Decr. 1773.
- Fell, Robert*, Captain. Visited Lodge 7th Augt. and 4th Sept. 1755.
- Ferguson, Thomas*. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1759.
- Fowler, John*. Amity Lodge, Preston. Visited Lodge 3rd May 1786.
- Gardiner, ——*, Major, of Lodge of Friendship, Canterbury. Visited Lodge 4th April 1787.
- Garrard, William*, of Prince's Lodge No. 80, Lothbury, London. Visited Lodge 11th June 1777.
- Gay, John*. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1749.
- Green, ——*, of The Sun Lodge, Cambridge. Relieved with 10/6 25th Septr. 1778.
- Green, W———*, of Sheffield. Visited Lodge 2nd January 1788.

- Godfrey*, ———, Lieut. 11th Regt. Dragoons, of Haddington St. Mary's Lodge.
Visited Lodge 7th August 1782.
- Gogul, T—— D——*, of Union Lodge, Frankfort. Visited Lodge 4th
February 1784.
- Hall*, ———, Captain. Visited Lodge 26th Nov. and 5th Decr. 1754.
- Hardiman, Thomas*. Visited Lodge 5th Decr. 1754 and 28th July 1755.
- Hardingham, Joseph*. Visited Lodge 5th and 27th Decr. 1754.
- Hawrie*, ———. Visited Lodge 6th July 1785.
- High, Francis*. Visited Lodge 2nd July 1747.
- Hilyard, John*, Dyer, Norwich. Visited Lodge 14th March 1751 and 5th Decr.
1754.
- Hockstetter, Anthony*, from Lodge No. 96. Visited Lodge 1st Decr. 1784, 2nd
August and 6th Decr. 1786.
- Hope*, ———, Lieut. Visited Lodge 6th Novr. and 27th Decr. 1782.
- Horth*, ———. Visited Lodge 5th March 1788.
- Hull, Thomas*. Visited Lodge 22nd Septr. 1785.
- Izquierdo, Eugenio*, "Master of a Lodge. Founding Member of the Grand
Lodge of the Nine Muses at Paris:—And Deputy to the Grand
Master of France." Visited the Lodge 3rd December 1777.
- Jefferys, Thomas*. Visited the Lodge 6th September 1745.
- Jenney, Thomas*, Landlord of Union Coffee House, Norwich, when a Lodge
founded there in 1750. Visited the Lodge 1st May and 5th June
1746.
- Johnson, Jacob*. Visited the Lodge 4th April 1751.
- Johnsons, William*. Visited the Lodge 5th November 1747.
- Kalierre, John Leonard*, Surgeon, Cley next Sea, Norfolk, of Lodge of Friend-
ship. Visited Lodge 4th February 1789.
- Kent, William*, of Three Tuns Lodge at Portsmouth. Visited the Lodge 1st
Septr. 1779 and 5th Septr. 1781.
- Kerrison, Roger*, Banker, Norwich. Visited the Lodge 7th Augt. 1782. High
Sheriff of Norfolk 1800. Knighted 1800.
- Kull*, ———, of Union Lodge Brussels. Visited the Lodge 2nd Octr., 6th Novr.
and 27th Decr. 1782.
- Laremonth, George*, of Lodge No. 135. Visited the Lodge 5th March 1783.
- Lawrie, Sir Robert, Bart.* Visited the Lodge 7th Nov. 1787.
- Leake, Sir John*, Attorney, Norwich, of Lodge of Friendship. Visited the
Lodge 27th Decr. 1778 and 5th May and 2nd June 1779.
- Leslie*, ———, Lieutenant. Visited the Lodge 4th Septr., 6th Novr. and 27th
Decr. 1782. In Nov. 1782 described as Captain.
- Lepinard, Leonard*. Visited Lodge 27th Decr. 1779 and 7th March 1781.
- Lepinard, E——*, Esquire. Visited the Lodge 1st March 1780, 3rd January
and 27th Decr. 1781. [The initial E. may be an error for L.]
- Martinez, Anthony*. Visited the Lodge on 3rd Decr. 1777.
- Masham, Thomas*. Visited the Lodge 6th June 1754.
- Maxwell, John*, of Lodge at Half Moon, Cheapside, London. Visited Lodge
2nd June and 1st Decr. 1779.
- Mills, Joseph*, Peruke Maker and Hairdresser, Norwich. Visited the Lodge 5th
February 1777.
- Mills, William*. Visited the Lodge 2nd July 1747.

Mitchell, George, Lieut. 11th Dragoons. Initiated at Lodge at Kilwinning. Visited Lodge 6th Nov. 1782. Passed F.C. and raised M.M. 4th Decr. 1782. Visited 27th Decr. 1782 and 2nd April 1783. As "Captain" visited Lodge 3rd June 1789. Exalted R.A. 22nd April 1790.

Money, Timothy. Visited Lodge 3rd July 1755 and 7th Octr. 1756. Common Councillor, Mancroft Ward, Norwich, 1735.

Neal, John. Visited the Lodge 5th Novr. 1747.

Nelthorpe, James. Visited the Lodge 2nd Decr. 1778.

Notley, William. Visited the Lodge 10th March 1773.

Nuthall, Benjamin. Visited the Lodge 5th May 1748. Sheriff of Norwich 1746. Mayor 1754.

O'Brien, Patrick, "Stature 8 feet 3 inches." Visited the Lodge 1st February 1786. The Irish Giant.

O'Brien, John. "Lodge unknown." Visited the Lodge 1st June 1785.

Oldmixon, Sir John, Kt., of Kilwinning Lodge. Visited the Lodge 2nd Novr. 1785.

Osborn, E——. Visited the Lodge 6th February 1782.

Oswald, Henry, of the Royal Edwin Lodge. Visited the Lodge 17 times from 3rd March 1779 to 5th November 1783.

Page, Thomas. Visited the Lodge 26 times between 27th Decr. 1743 and 27th Decr. 1748 and again on 7th Febr. 1754. S.W. of King's Head Lodge 1751 and a Member of Lodge at Bear Inn, Norwich, 1754.

Peartree, Jonas. Visited the Lodge 7th May 1777.

Preston, Rev. G——. Visited the Lodge 3rd March and 4th April 1787 and 7th January 1789.

Price, William, Captain. Visited the Lodge 1st April 1778.

Pue, William, Attorney-at-Law, Norwich. Visited the Lodge nine times between 4th Sept. 1751 and 5th February 1761. Member of Union Coffee House Lodge, Norwich.

Pye, J——. Visited the Lodge 4th August 1784.

Ramsay, James, Captain. Visited the Lodge seven times between 27th Decr. 1744 and 4th July 1745, one meeting being a Masters' Lodge.

Raven, Henry, Innkeeper, Norwich. Visited the Lodge 1st Febr. 1786. Member of Union Coffee House Lodge and King's Head Lodge, both of Norwich.

Raven, John. Visited the Lodge 6th Sept. 1786.

Restieaux, Andree, Dentist, of "Lodge L'Esperance a Londreés." Visited the Lodge 6th Decr. 1780.

Richardson, Luke, of Lodge at Horn Tavern, Westminster, London. Visited Lodge four times between 4th Octr. 1753 and 2nd Sept. 1756.

Sankey, Edward, Captain. Visited the Lodge 5th Sept., 4th Octr. and 5th Decr. 1787.

Smith, ——, Captain. Visited the Lodge 3rd January 1781.

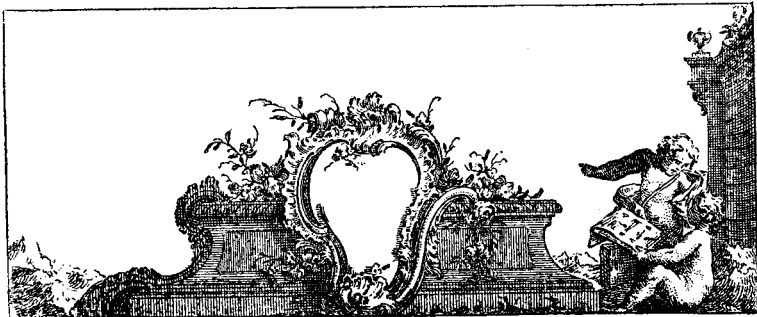
Smith, Henry. Visited the Lodge twelve times between 1st March 1753 and 1st June 1758.

Smith, Richard, of Royal Edmund Lodge 345, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. Visited the Lodge 2nd April 1788.

Spanton, Thomas, of Rodney Lodge, Hull. Visited the Lodge four times between 7th Augt. 1782 and 1st February 1786.

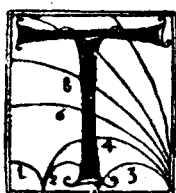
Sparks, Isaac. Visited the Lodge 2nd July 1747.

- Sparks, Luke.* Visited the Lodge 2nd July 1747.
- Spooner, T——*, of Lodge No. 324. Visited the Lodge on 3rd November 1784.
- Stannard, ——*. Visited the Lodge 29th Octr. 1788 and 7th January 1789.
- Strengered, Lars Peterson.* Visited the Lodge 6th Septr. 1764.
- Strong, James.* Visited the Lodge 12th April 1777.
- Suckling, E——*. Visited the Lodge 6th February 1782.
- Swinney, ——*, Captain. Visited the Lodge 2nd January 1788.
- Tawell, Thomas.* Visited the Lodge 27th Decr. 1745.
- Texter, James.* Visited the Lodge on the 5th March 1761.
- Thompson, James.* Visited the Lodge 2nd Novr. 1785.
- Thorn, William*, late of the Fakenham Lodge. Visited the Lodge 27th Decr. 1778, three times in 1779 and on 6th Augt. 1783.
- Tomson, Francis.* "A Member of the Lodge at Sheffield" relieved on 1st Septr. 1779 with One guinea.
- Wenman, Benjamin*, Clerk in Holy Orders. Visited the Lodge 15th July 1755.
- Wilson, ——*, Captain. Visited the Lodge 2nd January 1788.
- Wright, Samuel*, Captain. Visited the Lodge 3rd May 1786.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

SATURDAY, 7th NOVEMBER, 1925.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, W.M.; Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., I.P.M.; John Stokes, P.G.D., S.W.; Rev. W. W. Covey Crump, J.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M., I.G.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; and H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., A. Gault Macgowan, S. W. Rodgers, P.G.Stew., D. Knoop, John Evans, W. J. Williams, J. C. McCullagh, Geo. Young, W. Brinkworth, E. S. Nutt, F. Bare, Alfred Gates, P.A.G.D.C., H. S. Mattocks, A. E. Gurney, R. L. Randall, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., L. G. Wearing, F. M. Shaw, F. A. M. Taylor, Alfred Solomons, F. K. Jewson, Wm. C. Ullman, Geo. Elkington, C. F. Sykes, Geo. Simpson, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., J. Walter Hobbs, F. Inskipp, L. A. Engel, G. C. Williams, Wm. E. Gray, P.G.Treas., E. A. Uttley, P.G.D., J. H. Stirling, Pr.G.M., Antrim, W. Stubbings, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., Chas. S. Ayling, David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W. T. J. Gun, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, W. Young, F. J. Asbury, Eric Alven, Geo. P. Simpson, Wallace Heaton, F. M. Atkinson, E. W. Marson, H. Matheson, R. Wheatley, J. Hall Morton, Jas. S. Protheroe, J. W. V. Mason, R. L. Carew, E. Chappell, and Sir A. A. Brooke Pechell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. S. Fesher, S.W., Guelph Lodge No. 1685; A. B. Nutt, University of Sheffield Lodge No. 3911; Chas. J. Higgs, P.G.D.; H. A. Solomons, Thornhill Lodge No. 3163; W. C. Bennett, Kelvin Lodge No. 3736; E. A. Ullman, P.M., Lion and Lamb Lodge No. 192; Harold W. Horan, Albany Lodge No. 151; C. Grellier, W.M., and R. A. Giuseppi, P.M., Huguenot Lodge No. 2140; W. G. Jones, Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661; Pat. W. Moran, Lancastrian Lodge No. 2528; C. S. Dodwell, Eastern Gate Lodge No. 2970; G. T. Morris, Fraternity Lodge No. 3222; and R. M. Tabuteau, Navy Lodge No. 2612.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. J. E. S. Tuckett, P.A.G.S.B., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, J.D.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; G. W. Daynes; and F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

Nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

W.Bro. John Stokes, Past Grand Deacon, the Master Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by W.Bro. John Heron Lepper.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump	S.W.
„ George Norman	J.W.
„ E. Armitage	Treasurer.
„ W. J. Songhurst	Secretary.
„ Gordon P. G. Hills	D.C.
„ Rev. H. Poole	S.D.
„ H. C. de Lafontaine	J.D.
„ G. W. Daynes	I.G.
„ J. H. MacNaughton	Tyler.

The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—“That W.Bro. John Heron Lepper, Past Provincial Grand Inspector, Antrim, having completed his year of Office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair, and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge; and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.”

The Worshipful Master then delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

LIFE OF JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS.

BY BRO. JOHN STOKES, P.G.D., W.M.



JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS¹ was born at La Rochelle on the 1st of March, 1683. His father, Jean Desaguliers, was pastor of the Protestant congregation at Aitre, near La Rochelle.

At the time of his birth the whole air was full of the impending alteration of the conditions of comparative freedom in the civil and religious life of the French Protestants, which had been bestowed upon them by Henry IV. when he promulgated the Edict of Nantes in 1598. At an early period in the reign of his grandson Louis XIV. the principle of religious toleration began to be lost sight of and gave way to spasmodic waves of open or secret persecution, but to put these attempts on a legal basis it was necessary to revoke the Edict of Nantes. This was at last effected by the aid of Madame de Maintenon. On the 22nd of October, 1685, the Act of Revocation was published and immediately brought into full sway throughout France. The results of the Revocation were that the French Protestants lost all legal status and became practically outlaws; their property was confiscated, and all personal rights were forfeited. The Protestant Clergy were ordered to leave France within fifteen days under penalty of death. Their churches were destroyed and laid in ruins. It was forbidden to take children out of the country, and it was ordered that these were to be educated in the Roman Catholic Faith.

There ensued an exodus of the most enlightened portion of the French population, and the Protestant Faith became virtually extinct in France. It is, however, curious and instructive to note that in various remote parts a small remnant survived whose descendants to this day adhere to the reformed faith. It is impossible adequately to represent the value of these exiles to the lands which afforded them refuge and asylum. They carried with them not only the arts of a learned and highly cultured community, but also many valuable trades. Their influence on the arts and manufactures of England is too well-known to need any comment.

The subject of our memoir was thus about two-and-a-half years of age when the Revocation took place, and, with his father, was successfully got out of France. In the "House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall,"² published in the Chetham Society's Papers 1856-1858, vol. 41, it is stated that the youngster was concealed in a barrel when he was

¹ The name was spelled Desaguliers or Des Aguliers. The former spelling always used in England.

² Near Burnley in Lancashire. The Shuttleworths are descendants of Desaguliers in the female line. Now represented by Lord Shuttleworth.

taken on board the ship. However this may be, it is certain that father and son got over to Guernsey and ultimately to England.

The Rev. Jean Desaguliers soon after his arrival was admitted into the Church of England and ordained Deacon and Priest on the same day, 28th November, 1692, by Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who also later on ordained John Theophilus. Jean Desaguliers became minister of the French Chapel in Swallow Street, London, where the aristocratic portion of the refugees worshipped.¹ For some unknown reason Jean Desaguliers gave up this ministry and started a school in Islington, which he continued until his death on 6th February, 1698-9. John Theophilus Desaguliers was educated by his father and remained with him until his decease, and afterwards pursued his education under Mr. Sanders at Sutton Coldfield. In 1705 John Theophilus Desaguliers entered Christ Church, Oxford, took the B.A. degree in 1710, and on June 10th in the same year was admitted into orders by Bishop Compton. This same year he succeeded Dr. Keil—who had emigrated to New England, America—as lecturer in Experimental Philosophy at Hart Hall, Oxford, where he continued to lecture until 1713.

On the 14th October, 1712, he was married at Shadwell to Joanna, daughter of William Pudsey, of Kidlington, Co. Oxford. He then went to live in Channel Row, Westminster, and began to give public lectures in Natural Philosophy. This was a novel and original method of earning a living; the new and epoch-making researches of Sir Isaac Newton (Sir Isaac became a close personal friend) were just becoming known to the popular world, and the intelligentsia of the day eagerly embraced the opportunity of learning something about the Newtonian System of Philosophy. It is not possible to know nowadays what was the scale of fees charged for attendance at these lectures, but, at any rate, for many years he made a good living out of them. The lectures—which were subsequently published²—were given in simple language (the advanced mathematical proofs being shewn to those capable of understanding them, at the end of each lecture), and were illustrated by many really good experiments, by means of which the audience must have been kept thoroughly interested and perhaps sometimes amused. On July 29th, 1714, he became Fellow of the Royal Society, his entrance fees being excused on account of his valuable work. He acted as Curator, and gave demonstrations before the Society. For this work he was not paid a regular salary, but was given what we should now term a gratuity from time to time. Records of these payments are to be found in the Accounts of the Society, showing amounts of ten to fifty guineas apparently granted according to the nature of the experiments done.

In 1714 he was appointed Chaplain to the Duke of Chandos, who presented him to the living of Stanmore Parva, or Whitchurch, in Middlesex.

In 1717 he went through a Course of his Lectures on Experimental Philosophy before George I. at Hampton Court, with which His Majesty was so well pleased (though H.M. must have been rather at a loss owing to his not knowing any English) that he intended to have conferred upon him the valuable Rectory of Much Munden, in Hertfordshire. This intention was not carried into effect, but he got instead the living of Bridgham, in Norfolk, worth £70 per annum, which he exchanged in 1727 for the living of Little Warley, in Essex.

On March 16th, 1718, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Laws at Oxford. He followed the custom of the time in writing this as LL.D.—in the present day the Oxford degree is always written as D.C.L.

On August 26th, 1720, he was made a Freeman of the Royal Burgh of Dunfermline.³ In 1721 he was at Edinburgh in his capacity of consulting engineer employed to advise on the question of a new water supply.⁴ He appears to have made a special study of the details of the water supply, both public and private, and was frequently called in to advise, both in public and

¹ This chapel was bought by Dr. Anderson in 1709.

² See *Note A.* Desaguliers' Printed Works.

³ *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxv., p. 278.

⁴ See *Note B.* Desaguliers at Edinburgh.

private undertakings. In addition he was an expert on ventilation, and superintended the erection of a ventilating system for the House of Commons.¹

In 1727 he was appointed Chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales.² On several occasions he had given his lectures before the family of George II., and was a favourite of Queen Caroline, who had far more ability than her husband.³

In 1730, 1731, and 1732 he spent the greater part of the time in Holland, giving several courses of his lectures. In 1736 he spent some time lecturing in Paris. In 1738 he was appointed Chaplain to Bowles' (now the 12th) Regiment of Dragoons.

In February, 1741-2, he received the Copley Gold Medal from the Royal Society in acknowledgment of his successful experiments.

In 1738 it was decided to re-build Westminster Bridge; this work was finished in 1750, Desaguliers being consulted by the authorities with regard to the structure, and probably he worked out the mathematical details of the stresses and supports required. The supervisor of the Bridge-building was his pupil and assistant, Charles Labelye.⁴ The re-building of the bridge entailed the pulling down of his house in Channel Row. He thereupon removed to a Lodging in the Bedford Coffee House, over the N.E. corner of the Great Piazza in Covent Garden,⁵ one of the most fashionable parts of London, where he continued his lectures and other work until his death on the 29th February, 1744.⁶

He was buried in the Chapel in the Savoy on the 4th March, 1744.⁷

The *General Evening Post*, No. 1630, records the event⁸:—

London. March 1. Yesterday died at his lodgings in the Bedford Coffee House in Covent Garden, Dr. Desaguliers, a gentleman universally known and esteem'd.

In the *Genealogist*, vol. v., pp. 117-122, is a table of the Descendants of Jean Desaguliers (Huguenot Refugee) communicated by Henry Wagner, Esq., F.S.A.:—

Rev. Jean Desaguliers, b. Aug. 1644, d. 6 Feb. 1698-9, æt. 54. Pasteur of Aitre, ordained by the Bishop of London (Compton) Deacon and Priest in one day, 28 Nov. 1692, sometime Pastor of the French chapel in Swallow Street &c.

Married Margaret Thomas La Chapelle at La Rochelle, 24 Jan. 1677, d. 14 March 1721-2 æt. 82 and bur. 17 March at St. Margaret's Westminster.

The issue of this marriage was as follows:—

Marguerite, b. 1 and d. 7 Jan. 1676.⁹ Sponsors "mon beau frere la Chapelle Thomas, son oncle, and sa tante Sara Desaguliers." Rev. John Theophilus Desaguliers, the eminent experimental philosopher, b. at La Rochelle, 12 March 1683, d. 29 Feb. 1744. Student of Ch. Ch. Oxford., B.A. 1709, A.M. from Hart Hall, D.C.L. 1718, F.R.S. 1714, Ordained (also by Bishop Compton 4 June 1710, and

¹ In 1720 he (in conjunction with Mr. Daniel Niblet and Mr. William Vreen) obtained a patent for an Invention for "making the Steam of boyling liquors useful for drying Malt, Hops, Starch, &c., and for baking, brewing, distilling, boyling, and making Salt," &c. In 1721 he invented an "Engine for raising Water," but its value and utility were challenged, and caused much controversy in the *Daily Post* and *Post Boy*.

² See Note C. Desaguliers' Masonic Career; and Note D. Desaguliers and Higher Degrees.

³ See Note E. Desaguliers as a Poet.

⁴ See Note F. Charles Labelye and Westminster Bridge.

⁵ The architect of the Covent Garden Piazza was Inigo Jones.

⁶ Hogarth was one of the frequenters of the Bedford Coffee House. The home of the Royal Society was at Crome Court, Fleet St., from 1710 to 1782.

⁷ On enquiry at the Chapel of the Savoy I obtained a copy of the entry in the Book of Burials:—"March 4th, 1744. The Revd. Dr. John Theophilus Desaguliers in the Body of the Chapel."

⁸ Also noted in the same terms in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1744.

⁹ This must be a misprint for 1678.

became Rector of Stanmore Parva, Co. Middl., Chaplain to the Duke of Chandos and the Prince of Wales &c. Died 29 Feb. 1743-4 at the Bedford Coffee House, Covent Garden, and bur. 4 Mar. in the adjacent Chapel Royal of the Savoy, in the body of the Chapel. Will da. 29 Nov. 1743 pro. in the P.C.C. 1 March 1743-4 by son John Theophilus, sole exor. (Anst. 68).

Married Joanna, dau. of William Pudsey, Esq. of Kidlington, Oxon., at Shadwell 14 Oct. 1712. "M. G.¹ Simpson a béni mon mariage." Bur. at St. Anne's Westminster, 21 July 1753.

The issue of this marriage was as follows:—

(1) John Theophilus,² b. 7 Mar. and bap. at S. Andrew's Holborn 17 Aug. 1714-5, d. 19 Aug. 1716. Sponsors, "Docteur Alexandre Stuart, mon beau frere Guill. Pudsey, and ma belle soeur Jeanne Pudsey (afterwards wife of aforementioned Rev. William Simpson) qui prit la place de ma belle mere qui etoit malade, and Mlle. Marie Hawksbee."

(2) Rev. John Theophilus Desaguliers, b. in Channel Row Westminster, 18 Aug. 1718, d. . . . 1751, unmarried. B.A. of Hart Hall Oxford, 1739, sometime of Chatfield Suffolk, Admin. granted 18 Dec. 1752 to his brother Thomas, his mother, Joanna renouncing. Bapt. S. Margaret's Westminster, 2 Sept. 1718. Sponsors, "M. Marshall Smith, M. Thos. Burdon, mon voisin, and ma cousine Isabelle des Bois."

(3) John³ Isaac Desaguliers, b. 17 Oct. and d. 31 Oct. 1719. Bapt. at St. Margaret's Westminster, 20 Oct. and bur. there 2 Nov. Sponsors, "Jean Marquis de Carnarvon, fils du Duc de Chandos, and M. la Chevalier Newton, and Mlle. Cassandra Cornwallis parent du Marquis."

(4) Thomas Desaguliers,⁴ b. 5 Jan.⁵ 1720-1, bap. at St. Margaret's Westminster 20 Jan., d. 1 Mar. 1780. Lieut.-General, Col. of 3rd Battalion of R.A. and Equerry to George III. Of Graces, Little Badow, Co. Essex. Will⁶ dated 17 Aug. 1777, with codicils dated 11 Jan. and 1 Mar. 1779, and pro. 5 April 1780 by the dau. Mary Catherine Cotterel, sole exec. and resdy. legatee.

(5) Joanna, b. 9 June 1722, bap. at St. Margaret's Westminster and bur. there 16 July 1725. Sponsors, "Mr. Joseph Taylor, la jeune Comtesse de Lippe,⁷ niece de la Duchesse de Kendal, and Milady Hewitt⁷ femme du Chevalier Thomas Hewitt."

(6) Sarah Jane⁸ b. 4 Dec. 1724, bap. at St. Margaret's Westminster 18 Dec. Sponsors, "My lord Malpas, fils du Comte de Cholmondeley, la Duchesse de Richmond, et la Comtesse de Dalkeith." d. Aug. 1726.

¹ Later on described as the Rev. William Simpson. Probably G. is intended for Guillaume.

² In Chetham the name is given in the French form as Jean Theophile.

³ In Chetham "Jean."

⁴ "Aujourd'hui le 5 de Janvier est né mon quatrieme fils Thomas au grand peril de la vie de sa mere qui par la misericorde de Dieu a enfin accouche heureusement, Cet enfant a eu pour parrain Thomas Parker Comte de Macclesfield et grand chancelier d'Angleterre et Archibald Campbell Comte d'Islay, et pour marraines Theodosia Comtesse de Clifton ey fille de my lord Clarendon depuis decedee. Dieu donne cet enfant sa grace et benediction."

⁵ Chetham 5th Feb.

⁶ He directs, should he die in London (as was the case) or Woolwich, to be buried in Crayford Churchyard, in a grave twelve feet deep and broad enough to allow of his late wife's coffin being re-interred side by side with his own. He also desires "my daughter Cotterel would have the two marble slabs taken at Cherburgh put up in her hall at Aynhoe," and, "as the King gave me the 'Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences,' I wish my grandson, William Cartwright, should keep them in his library."

⁷ Chetham gives "Leppe" and "Hewit."

⁸ Chetham Sarah Jeanne.

(7) Elizabeth, b. 28 Sept. and bap. 20 Oct. 1727. "Ma troisieme fille Elizabeth batisee comme les autres a Ste. Marguerite a eu pour Parrains M. Guillaume Cowper et Alexandre Choche et pour Marraine Made de la Faye et Made Sorrel. Elle n'a vecu qu'un mois."¹

Pedigree of Thomas Desaguliers.

Thomas Desaguliers, married Mary, only dau. of John Blackwood, Esq. of Charlton, Kent, by Ann, dau. (and co-heir with her sister Elizabeth, who m. firstly Robert, first Lord Romney, and secondly, John, third Earl of Hyndford) of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and mother, by her first marriage with the Hon. Robert Mansel, of John 2nd Lord Mansel. [See Extinct Peerage.] She ran away with him from Ranelagh.

The issue of this marriage was as follows:—

(1) Frederick Desaguliers "killed and scalped by the Indians about the time of the battle of Bunker's Hill." 1775. Unmarried.

(2) Mary Catherine, b. ?, d. 27 July 1814.

Married (firstly) Thomas Cartwright Esq. of Aynhoe, Co. Northampton, b. 13 June 1736, m. at St. Margaret's Westminster 6 Sept. 1765, d. 24 Aug. 1772.

(Secondly) 10 April 1777 Sir Stephen Cotterel, Knt., of London, Master of the Ceremonies.

(3) Anne, b. 1748, d. 12 April 1801 æt. 53, buried at Crayford, Kent.

Married at St. James' Westminster 15 May 1776, Robert Shuttleworth, Esq. of Gawthorpe Hall Co. Lancaster, b. ?, d. 29 Jan. 1816. Will pro. Feb. 1816.

The descendants through the Cartwrights and Shuttleworths are still flourishing.

It is obvious that this pedigree shows a great difference from the usually accepted versions. There is no mention of a son Alexander, as stated by Gould, who probably took him from Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi., p. 81.² It is evident that Nichols has confused Alexander with the second son John Theophilus, who was Vicar of Cratfield and Laxfield, in Suffolk. Furthermore, hitherto the daughters have always been ignored.

Apart from its value as showing the genealogy of the Desaguliers family, this record is deeply interesting in its capacity as a human document. The list of sponsors is ample evidence of Desaguliers' position in the court circle of the period; especially noteworthy is the fact that Sir Isaac Newton acted as godfather to the third son, John Isaac; the note on the birth of Thomas reveals a depth of feeling not usually suspected in the scientist, and the concluding words, "God be gracious unto this child and bless him," appear from the life of Thomas Desaguliers to have been amply fulfilled. Above all is the trait that these notes are written in French, for in times of deep emotion man always seeks to express his thoughts in the language of his childhood. These notes and the Genealogy were extracted from an old French Bible which is (or was) in the possession of the Kay-Shuttleworth family at Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire. The first part is in the handwriting of Jean Desaguliers, the second part is

¹ William Cowper, Secretary of Grand Lodge, afterwards Deputy Grand Master; Alexander Choche, Past Deputy Grand Master; Charles de la Faye; and Francis Sorrell, Past Grand Warden; were all members in 1725 of the Lodge at the Horn, Westminster.

² For other Biographical notes see *D.N.B.*, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, Foster's *Index Ecclesiasticus*, etc.

written by Dr. Desaguliers, and the record of the death of Dr. Desaguliers was added by General Desaguliers.

As happens in so many families, the descent failed in the male line, but the intermarriages from the female line exhibit a numerous progeny.

A few years after the decease of Dr. Desaguliers there arose a legend which stated that he died in poverty and neglect. This may be taken as apocryphal and appears to have been the outcome of the fertile imagination of an obscure poet, James Cawthorn, whose version, clothed in picturesque fiction, was copied by other writers, and because its accuracy was never examined, at last became accepted as correct. The only comments necessary to disprove Cawthorn's account are:—Desaguliers did not die in a cell (presumably a prison cell is indicated or implied), but in the Bedford Coffee House, which was a highly respectable place in a very good neighbourhood; he had many friends; and his sons were all in a good position in life; his wife (d. 1753) survived him, so that he would not be alone; and, finally, he was buried in the body of the Royal Chapel in the Savoy, which, to say the least, is not generally the case with paupers, or people of low degree.

There are three engraved portraits of Desaguliers mentioned by Bromley, who classes him amongst "Inferior Clergy":—

Painted	{	Hysing—P. Pelham. 1725	}	Engraved
or		Hysing—des Rocher		or
designed		Frye—Seaddon. 1743		Printed

and we have also the portrait in the frontispiece to the 1723 Constitutions, where the figure in clerical attire on the right is undoubtedly meant for Desaguliers.

The literary output of Dr. Desaguliers was enormous.

In addition to his published works, he contributed prefaces or introductory remarks to many works written by his friends or pupils similar in style to his dedication of the 1723 Constitutions to the Duke of Montagu. Most of his work was scientific in character.

Of his work as a clergyman only one sermon is extant, and that is said to have been preached before the King in 1717, but he must have done some duty in his various cures, though his bent was not clerical and his theological ideas are nowhere prominently displayed.

He was a member of many scientific Societies, amongst others, he joined the famous Gentlemen's Society at Spalding, in Lincolnshire, in 1724. This was a literary and antiquarian society which did a great deal of really good work for many years. Its members included most of the learned men of the period. Formed in 1710, it appears to have died of inanition somewhere about 1753. An interesting account of it is to be found in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol.vi.

He was also a Corresponding Member of the French Academie des Sciences.

Perhaps the best summing up of his life may be found in Burns' own epitaph (p. 174, Globe Ed.):—

Reader, attend—whether thy soul
Soars fancy's flights beyond the pole,
Or darklin grubs this earthly hole,
In low pursuit;
Know, prudent, cautious self-control
Is wisdom's root.

Perhaps also, like Walter Savage Landor, one may say of him:—

I warmed both hands before the fire of life;
It sinks, and I am ready to depart.

NOTE A. DESAGULIERS' PRINTED WORKS.

The following list is from *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824, vol. i., 299, d.e.

Desaguliers, John Theophilus, LL.D., F.R.S., a very ingenious and respectable experimental Philosopher, was born at Rochelle in France, 1683, brought to England at the age of two; died 1744.—Fire Improved; being a New Method of building Chimnies, so as to prevent their Smoaking. Lond. 1716, 8vo.—Physico-Mechanical Lectures. Lond. 1717, 12mo.—A Work entit. A System of Experimental Philosophy; proved by Mechanics, as shewn at the Public Lectures, in a Course of Experimental Philosophy, by J. T. Desaguliers, published 1719, 4to. but without the Author's knowledge or consent.—A Course of Experimental Philosophy, with 32 copperplates. Lond. 1725, 1727, 4to. 1734, 1745, 2 vols. 4to. A new edition, 1763, 2 vols. 4to.—The Newtonian System; a Poem. Westminster, 1728, 4to.—A second edition of Dr. Gregory's Elements of Catoptrics and Dioptrics translated into English by Dr. Brown; to which he added, an Appendix containing an Account of Reflecting Telescopes &c. Lond. 1734, 8vo.—Dissertation on Electricity,¹ by which he gained the prize of the Academy of Bordeaux. Lond. 1742, 8vo.—Translation from the Latin, of Gravesande's Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy. Lond. 1720, 8vo.—Likewise published by his son. 1747, 2 vols. 4to.—Repetition of some Experiments on Light and Colours. Phil. Trans. Abr. vi. 228. 1716.—On the Cause of the Variation of the Barometer. Ib. 283.—Experiments to prove an Interspersed Vacuum. Ib. 321.—Instances of the very great Vegetation of Turnips. Ib. 404.—A Way for Myopes² to use Telescopes without Eye Glasses. Ib. 424.—On the Resistance of the Air to falling Bodies. Ib. 1719. 428, 430,—Experiments to show that Bodies of the same bulk do not contain equal quantities of Matter. Ib. 480.—On the Resistance of Fluids. Ib. 506.—Remarks on some Attempts made towards Perpetual Motion. Ib. 542. 1721.—Description of a Machine to raise Water, by the help of Quicksilver. Ib. 550. 1722.—On the Different Refrangibility of Coloured Light. Ib. 1722. 607.—Attempt to Account for the Rising and Falling of Water in some Ponds. Ib. 1724. Abr. vii. 39.—On the Figure of the Earth. Ib. 60 and 99.—Experiments on the Cohesion of Lead. Ib. 100.—On the Running of Water into Pipes. Ib. 1726. 137.—A Plan for Extracting Damps or Foul Air out of all sorts of Pits and Mines, by an Engine. Ib. 208.—Various Optical Experiments. Ib. 292.—Of the Rise of Vapours, and Formation of Clouds. Ib. 323. 1729.—A Proposition on the Balance. Ib. 348. 1729.—Observations on the Crane, with Improvements. Ib. 369. 1729.—Examination of a Machine, said to be without Friction. Ib. 377 and 380.—Of a New Kind of Hydrometer. Ib. 392.—Paradox relating to the Balance. Ib. 482. 1731.—An Experiment to shew that the Friction of the several parts in a Compound Engine may be reduced to Calculation. Ib. 539. 1732.—Machines for Changing the Air of Rooms. Ib. 1735. Abr. viii. 12.—On the Cause of Damps in Mines. Ib. 76. 1736.—On the Morning Magnitude of the Horizontal Moon. Ib. 105.—Some New Statical Experiments. Ib. 139.—A Variety of Magnetical Experiments. Ib. 246.—Thoughts and Conjectures concerning the Cause of Elasticity. Ib. 340.—Thoughts and Experiments concerning Electricity. Ib. 346 &c.—Continuation of Electrical Experiments. Ib. 407 &c.—The Same. Ib. 546.—Conjectures concerning Electricity, and the Rise of Vapours. Ib. 1742. 584.

DESAGULIERS, John, M.A., Chaplain to the Earl Caernarvon, Sermon on Luke xiii., 5. 1717. 8vo.

In the *Freemason* for 14th Feb. 1925 there is printed an extract from the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, which is stated to be partly in the handwriting of Dr. Desaguliers, giving details of his life and a list of his

¹ Here was first used the word "Conductor" in Electricity.

² Desaguliers was very myopic.

writings. After the poem on the Newtonian System is the following note:— N.B.—Cambria's Complaint was written by a Friend, who desir'd him to publish it at the end of his Newtonian System without mentioning the author or that he had it from another. Then follows a paragraph in Dr. Rawlinson's handwriting that the author was Mr. Davy, Vice-Principal of Hart Hall.

It is impossible after this long interval to be able to estimate what is the truth or how much credence is to be given to this unsubstantiated statement. So far as the evidence of the style of the two poems goes, Cambria's Complaint and the Newtonian System are similar, and viewed as poetry are equally bad. The obvious model of both has been the versification of Dryden, the whole diction follows Dryden's methods, though at a sufficiently long interval. A careful comparison of the two has led the present writer to the opinion that they are by the same hand. In any case, it is singular that at no time has the authorship of the poems been in dispute; perhaps the lack of success of this literary venture may have interfered with the claims of anybody else, for mankind is not usually zealous in desiring to be associated with a literary failure.

With reference to the date of Desaguliers' birthday, it must be borne in mind that the 12th March 1683 New Style, corresponds to the 1st March 1683 Old Style, so that here at any rate there is no discrepancy.

There were other books and other lectures on various branches of Natural Philosophy at this period. The world-wide spread of the doctrines of Newton had brought about a desire in all classes of society to learn something of the principles of Mechanics without the drudgery of the mathematical part of the science. Owing to the support and patronage of the Royal family these lectures became popular and were a useful source of income to the lecturer. Always well illustrated by experiments, they probably contributed materially to the diffusion of knowledge in the new domain of science.

The well-known Freemason, Martin Clare, gave lectures, and in 1735 published a book, giving the substance of his lectures, "The Motion of Fluids," which runs on the same lines as that of Desaguliers and is also admirably illustrated. Clare's work is dedicated to the Lord Weymouth "Grand Master of the Antient & Honourable Society of Free & Accepted Masons." (London. Printed for Edward Symon. 1735.)

At the end is an advertisement, "Youth's Introduction to Trade & Business" by M. Clare, Master of the Academy in Soho Square, London. By whom Youth are Boarded, Educated, and made fit for Business.

NOTE B. DESAGULIERS AT EDINBURGH.

The following are extracts from the *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel)*, No. 1, by David Murray Lyon. 1900:—

p. 159. The first quarter of the eighteenth century is interesting to the Masonic student from its being the epoch in which was instituted the first Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, and from being that also in which the principles, rites, and ceremonies of this new English Masonic organisation are supposed to have been partially introduced into the few then existing Scottish Lodges, a step which was followed at no great distance of time by the thorough transformation of these old Operative associations into schools of Speculative Masonry. The erection of the Grand Lodge of England and subsequent arrangement of the ritual of Freemasonry are ascribed to the influence and ingenuity of eight gentlemen having an honorary connection with the Fraternity of Operative Masons. The most prominent member of this learned Masonic cabal was Dr. Theophilus Desaguliers, who was then in the zenith of his fame as a mathematician and

experimental philosopher. He was born at Rochelle in 1683, and while yet an infant was brought to England by his father, a Protestant clergyman, who, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from France in search of an asylum where he could enjoy the free exercise of his religion. Desaguliers' education, begun in London, was finished at Oxford, where also he inaugurated his career as a philosophical lecturer. His fame having reached the English Court, he received the appointment of Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (whom he initiated into the Craft), and was honoured with the private friendship of his Sovereign. His success as a scientific writer was rewarded by the bestowal of the Fellowship of the Royal Society; whilst his enrolment as a corresponding member of the Royal Academy at Paris, and his public appearances in Holland, were proofs that his celebrity was not confined to the country of his adoption. His ingenuity was displayed in the heating and ventilating of the House of Commons, after a plan which he devised under a commission which was issued by Parliament in 1723, and his name has been handed down as "the first who popularised natural philosophy."

Desaguliers' connection with the Masonic Fraternity was formed in 1712, through his admission into the Lodge Antiquity, the oldest of the few Operative Lodges then existing in London. "His love of mechanics" (says a writer in the *Masonic Eclectic*), "and the prominent part which that science plays in Operative Masonry, no doubt induced him to become a member of the Fraternity. He soon, however, found that the Brethren could teach him nothing. On the other hand, the spirit of toleration which he found prevailing among the members of the Fraternity, peculiarly grateful to one who had himself suffered from religious intolerance, inspired him with the idea of reconstructing the Society on a basis which should unite together in harmony those who were divided by religious and political schisms. In carrying out his plan he was materially aided by the high position he occupied in society, and by the widespread acquaintance he enjoyed." Such was the distinguished person of whom it is recorded in the first of the three following Minutes, that, having sought a conference with the Master Masons of Edinburgh, that body granted his request, and received him as a brother into their Lodge:—"Att Maries Chapell the 24 of August 1721 years—James Wattson, present deacon of the Masons of Edinr., Preses. The which day Doctor John Theophilus Des=Auguliers, fellow of the Royall Societie, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Grace James Duke of Chandos, late Generall Master of the Mason Lodges in England, being in town and desirous to have a conference with the Deacon, Warden, and Master Masons of Edinr., which was accordingly granted, and finding him duly qualified in all points of Masonry, they received him as a Brother into their Societie." "Like as, upon the 25th day of the sd moneth, the Deacons, Warden, Masters, and several other members of the Societie, together with the sd Doctor Desaguliers, haveing mett att Maries Chapell, there was a supplicatione presented to them by John Campbell, Esqr., Lord Provost of Edbr., George Preston and Hugh Hathorn, Baillies; James Nimmo, Thesaurer; William Livingston, Deacon-convener of the Trades thereof; and George Irving, Clerk to the Dean of Guild Court,—and humbly craving to be admitted members of the sd Societie; which being considered by them, they granted the desire thereof, and the saids honourable persons were admitted and received Entered Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts accordingly." "And sicklike upon the 28th day of the said moneth there was another petition given in by Sr. Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Barronet; Robert Wightman, Esq., present Dean of Gild of Edr.; George Drummond, Esq., late Theasurer thereof; Archibald M'Aulay, late Bailly there; and Patrick Lindsay, merchant there, craveing the like benefit, which was also granted, and they received as members of the societie as the other persons above mentioned. The same day James Key and Thomas Aikman, servants to James Wattson, deacon of the masons, were admitted and received entered apprentices, and payed to James Mack, warden, the ordinary dues as such. Ro. Alison, Clerk."

It was business connected with the Edinburgh and District Water Supply that brought Desaguliers to the Scottish metropolis. For certain additional

work agreed upon he was appointed engineer. There can be but one opinion as to the nature and object of Dr. Desaguliers' visit to the Lodge of Edinburgh. In the interval between his initiation in London and his affiliation as a member of the Scottish Fraternity he had been a prime mover in instituting the English Grand Lodge; and had, in conjunction with other learned craftsmen, been engaged in the fabrication of a "Masters' part," in the preparation of a constitution for the newly-formed body, and the catechetical arrangement of its lectures. He had also been called by the unanimous voice of his Brethren to the office of Grand Master, which he held for a year, and was the first to introduce at feasts of the Fraternity the toasts and other customs that had hitherto been a peculiarity of Masonic meetings under the old regime. At the time of his visit to Scotland a revision of the English Masonic Constitutions was in contemplation; and the better to facilitate this, he, along with Dr. James Anderson, the minister of a Presbyterian Church in London, was engaged in the examination of such ancient Masonic records as could be consulted. In subsequently dedicating the Book of Constitutions to the then English Past Grand Master, the Duke of Montagu, Desaguliers recommends it as having been "compiled and digested from the old records," and as being "agreeable to history and chronology." The extent of the Doctor's faith may be estimated from the fact that the author gravely represents Moses as presiding as "Grand Master Mason" in the Israelitish Lodges which were held in the Wilderness; Nebuchadnezzar as having attained the same Masonic rank; and Samson as "never having had the honour to be number'd among Masons," because of his "weakness in revealing his secrets to his wife." The modern mind is generally supposed to have got pretty well rid of superstition; but Brethren having pretensions to Masonic authorship continue in this advanced period of the nineteenth century to make the assertion in all soberness, that St. John the Evangelist was Grand Master of the Lodge at Jerusalem!

Embracing the opportunity which his sojourn in the Scottish capital offered for comparing what he knew of the pre-symbolic constitutions and customs of English Masons with those that obtained in Scottish Lodges, and animated, no doubt, by a desire for the spread of the new system, Dr. Desaguliers held a conference with the office-bearers and members of the Lodge of Edinburgh. That he and his Brethren in Mary's Chapel should have so thoroughly understood each other on all the points of Masonry, shows either that in their main features the secrets of the old Operative Lodges of the two countries were somewhat similar, or that an inkling of the novelty had already been conveyed into Scotland. The fact that English versions of the Masonic Legend and Charges were in circulation among the Scots in the middle of the seventeenth century favours the former supposition; and if this be correct, there is strong ground for the presumption that the conference in question had relation to Speculative Masonry and its introduction into Scotland. Indeed, the proceedings of the Lodge on the day after its interview with the late Grand Master of England render it probable that, taking advantage of his professional position, he had influenced the attendance of the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, and the other city magnates who accompanied them, as applicants for Masonic fellowship, in order to give a practical illustration of the system with which his name was so closely associated, with a view to its commending itself for adoption by the Lodges of Scotland. This, in a Masonic point of view, historically interesting communication of the Lodge of Edinburgh, was at an interval of two days followed by another; and it is more than probable that on both occasions the ceremony of entering and passing would, as far as the circumstances of the Lodge would permit, be conducted by Desaguliers himself, in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce. It was not till 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge was repealed. This may account for the Doctor confining himself to the two lesser degrees. Some years ago, and when unaware of Desaguliers' visit to Mary's Chapel, we expressed our opinion that the system of Masonic Degrees which for nearly a century and a half has been known in

Scotland as Freemasonry was an importation from England, seeing that in the processes of initiation and advancement conformity to the new ceremonial required the adoption of genuflections, postures, &c., which in the manner of their use—the country being then purely Presbyterian—were regarded by our forefathers with abhorrence as relics of Popery and Prelacy. We adhere to that opinion; and have now no hesitation in ascribing Scotland's acquaintance with, and subsequent adoption of, English Symbolical Masonry to the conference which the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system held with the Lodge of Edinburgh in August, 1721.

p. 423. The initiation of Frederick Lewis Prince of Wales (father of George III.) by Dr. Desaguliers, the learned Brother who in 1721 instructed the Lodge of Edinburgh in the secret ceremonial of English Freemasonry, is the first undoubted instance of the admission to Lodge membership of a Prince of the Blood Royal. His Royal Highness was entered in 1737, at an "occasional Lodge" convened for the purpose at the palace of Kew, and was passed and raised at two subsequent communications.

There are several points in this Edinburgh History which are open to question:—

(1) There is no authority for the statement that Desaguliers joined Masonry in 1712, "through his admission into the Lodge Antiquity." The actual date and place is unknown. In any case a Westminster Lodge such as the Horn is more likely than the Lodge of Antiquity.

(2) It is by no means certain that "he had been a prime mover in instituting the English Grand Lodge." More likely is it that he had nothing at all to do with its formation.

(3) "and had, in conjunction with the other learned craftsmen been engaged in the fabrication of a 'Masters' part,' in the preparation of a constitution for the newly formed body, and the catechetical arrangement of its lectures." There is not the scintilla of evidence that he, or anyone else, fabricated a Masters' part. He most certainly did not prepare a constitution, and to say the least, it is doubtful whether he had anything to do with the lectures or their arrangement.

(4) It is decidedly worthy of remark that Desaguliers conducted "the ceremony of entering and passing in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce," and equally it is not at all apparent that he was anxious to introduce any alteration in the Scottish working.

(5) In the 1723 Constitutions, Article XIII., p. 61 states: "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here unless by a dispensation." Grand Lodge has no record of ever having conferred any degree. This Regulation was repealed 27th Nov., 1725, by the enactment of the rule that "the Masters of each Lodge with the Consent of his Wardens, And the Majority of the Brethren being Masters may make Masters at their Discretion."

(6) "And have now no hesitation in ascribing Scotland's acquaintance with, and subsequent adoption of, English Symbolical Masonry to the conference which the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system held with the Lodge of Edinburgh in August 1721." Desaguliers was neither a co-fabricator nor a pioneer. Furthermore, was any such conference ever held?

(7) On p. 423 the same statement is made in different words "the learned Brother who in 1721 instructed the Lodge of Edinburgh in the secret ceremonial of English Freemasonry." Here again we are entitled to ask when, where, why, how, and whom did he instruct?

It is highly probable that Desaguliers had a great influence in bringing into Freemasonry many men of good position and of learning. It is noteworthy that many of the early members of the Craft were also members of the Royal Society, and the same ideas with respect to the discussion of matters concerning them obtained in both societies.

It is, however, not at all likely that Desaguliers took any active part in the composition of the Constitutions. His Dedication to the Duke of Montagu is written in the usual manner in which these words of commendation are done, and, whilst alluding to the learned author, he says nothing that would, even remotely, serve to connect him with the authorship of any part of that work, which, it must be remembered, was Anderson's private property. Bro. Vibert thinks that Anderson may have had the assistance of Desaguliers and other learned Brethren in drafting the Charges and Regulations, but of this there is no definite evidence. Again, the scientific and trained mind of Desaguliers, accustomed to write down only what he could prove to be correct, is not likely to have anything to do with a series of inaccurate statements such as Anderson indulges in. And, lastly, the style of diction is not the same as Desaguliers wrote.

It is certainly of great importance to observe that with the advent of Desaguliers—and of Payne—Freemasonry took on a new and more extensive outlook and became a great deal more than a small body of men living in London who wished to organise London Masonry in a better form. Even more noteworthy is the fact—which cannot be a mere fortuitous coincidence—that up to the time of Desaguliers' entrance the majority of the members of the Craft were persons of comparatively little importance and of no great influence, whereas soon afterwards there was a large influx of men of standing in the domains of society, and science, and letters. Starting from the mastership of the Duke of Montagu we find that most of the peerage and gentlefolk of the country joined the Craft. It is indeed remarkable how many of the Craft were also Fellows of the Royal Society. All these circumstances point to the enormous influence exerted by Desaguliers in improving the status of the Order by bringing into it initiates of the most desirable kind.

NOTE C. DESAGULIERS' MASONIC CAREER.

There is no certain information to be obtained with regard to the date or place or Lodge in which Desaguliers was brought into the Craft. Oliver states that Desaguliers was initiated in Lodge No. 4, but no records of this are available. Gould says: "It is highly probable that Desaguliers became a member of the Lodge at the Rummer and Grapes, in Channel Row, Westminster, because its meetings were held in the vicinity of his dwelling." This is the same Lodge that Oliver mentions—now the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge No. 4.

However this may be, we next find on the authority of Dr. Anderson that Desaguliers became Grand Master in 1719. As the Grand Lodge Minutes only date from June 24, 1723, we have no means of checking Anderson's statements.

This is Anderson's account as printed in the *Constitutions*, 1738:—

ASSEMBLY and Feast at the said Place, 24 June 1719. Brother Payne having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud our Reverend Brother John Theophilus Desaguliers L.L.D. and F.R.S. Grand Master of Masons, and being duly invested, install'd, congratulated, and homaged, forthwith reviv'd the old regular and peculiar Toasts or Healths of the Free Masons. Now several old Brothers, that had neglected the Craft, visited the Lodges; some

Noblemen were also made Brothers, and more new Lodges were constituted.

{	Mr Antony Sayer foresaid	{	Grand	}
{	Mr Theo. Morrice foresaid	{	Wardens.	}

ASSEMBLY and Feast at the foresaid Place 24 June 1720. Brother Desaguliers having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud GEORGE PAYNE Esqr, again Grand Master of Masons.

The "said Place" was the Goose and Gridiron Ale-house.

We are left in ignorance of any reason for Desaguliers being appointed as Grand Master. We do not even know if he had occupied the chair in a Craft Lodge, and in any case he must have been a very young Mason without any special knowledge of the duties of the important office of G.M. His chief qualifications must have been his scientific attainments, together with his scholastic degrees, and perhaps the lustre of the Fellowship of the Royal Society. But look at it how we will, the whole transaction is puzzling and gives no clue to any obvious reason for such a rapid advancement in Masonic status.

From 1723 we are on surer ground. The records of Grand Lodge so ably edited by Bro. Songhurst show that up to the end of his life he took a deep interest and a prominent part in the deliberations of the Grand Lodge.

He seems especially to have been active in the work of the Charity Fund and to have acted as what would now be termed the Charity Steward, in taking charge of the sums voted to the poor Brethren and handing it out to the recipients, and perhaps seeing that it was wisely administered. In the 1725 List he is seen to be acting as Master of the Solomons Temple Lodge at Hemmings Row. This was a French Lodge to which he would naturally give his support, and this is the only Lodge in which there is definite proof that he had ever been Master.

In the years 1730 to 1732 he spent a great deal of his time in Holland, giving various courses of lectures on Natural Philosophy. This gave him the opportunity of acting as Master of the Lodge there and of bringing into the Craft Francis, Duke of Lorraine, who married Maria Theresa, and who in 1745 became Emperor. It is probable that he did not stay in Holland throughout the whole of this period, *e.g.*, he was present at G.L. 24th June, 1731, and at several meetings of the Royal Society during 1731. Indeed, he appears to have been selected for the purpose of initiating people of note on several occasions, and is credited with the conferment of Masonic degrees on the Prince of Wales in 1737.

The following extracts from the Minutes of Grand Lodge are taken from *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, vol. x., 1913, as edited by Bro. W. J. Songhurst:—

p. 23. Horn. Dr. Desagulier.

p. 42. Solomon's Temple, Hemmings Row.
Jean Theoph. Desaguliers, Docteur en droit et agrege a la Societe Roiale. Maitre.

These two entries are in the 1725 List of Lodges. The second was a French Lodge. The majority of the names in the list are French and the Wardens are styled "Surveillant."

p. 49. Duke of Wharton, G.M.
At the Grand Lodge held at Merchant Taylor's Hall Monday 24th June 1723.
The Reverend J. T. Desaguliers LL.D. F.R.S. D.G.M.

p. 51. The Lodge was also acquainted, That (in case of his Election) he [the Earl of Dalkeith] had nominated Dr. Desaguliers for his Deputy.

- p. 52. The late Grand Master declaring he had some doubt upon the above mentioned Division in the Grand Lodge before Dinner, whether the Majority was for approving Dr. Desaguliers, or whether the Tellers had truly reported the Numbers; proposed the said Question to be now put again in the General Lodge. And accordingly insisting on the said Question being now put, and putting the same, his Worship and several Brethren withdrew out of the Hall as dividing against approving Dr. Desaguliers.

And being so withdrawn

Brother Robinson producing a written authority from the Earl of Dalkeith for that purpose did declare in his Name, that his Worship had agreeably to the Regulation in that behalf appointed, and did appoint Dr. Desaguliers his Deputy, and Brothers Sorrel and Senex Grand Wardens; and also Brother Robinson did in his said Worship's Name and behalf of the whole Fraternity, protest against the above proceedings of the late Grand Master in first putting the Question of Approbation and what followed thereon as unprecedented, unwarrantable and Irregular, and tending to introduce into the Society a Breach of Harmony, with the utmost disorder and confusion.

Then the said late Grand Master and those who withdrew with him being returned into the Hall, and acquainted with the foresaid Declaration of Brother Robinson

The late Grand Master went away from the Hall without any Ceremony.

After other regular Healths drank

The Lodge adjourned.

In a note to these Minutes Bro. Songhurst adds a footnote:—"The fact "that Dr. Desaguliers signed these Minutes as Deputy Grand Master seems to "show that they were written out at the time, as was no doubt the case at some "later meetings also. We may infer from Anderson's statement (Constitutions "1738, p. 116) that after the Duke of Wharton went away, Dr. Desaguliers "took the chair. Had the Minutes been signed after confirmation at the next "Meeting it would probably have been done by the Earl of Dalkeith, who then "occupied the chair as Grand Master."

It was customary in many old Lodges for the proceedings to be written up and signed as correct by the Master and Secretary on the same night, and confirmed the next meeting. By this method the events were recorded whilst still fresh in the memories of those present. This was the custom in Sheffield where for many years the Minutes were written by the Master himself.

But what was all the bother about? There is no record, but the subsequent career of the Duke of Wharton may lead to a conjecture that perhaps some Jacobite intrigue may have been on foot. There is no contemporary allusion available from which we might derive enlightenment, and reasoning without adequate data is not profitable. Wharton faded away into obscurity.

Pope mentions Wharton frequently in his poems, and in the *Dunciad*, Bk. IV., ll. 513-514, alludes to him thus:—

"Poor Wharton nipt in Folly's broadest bloom,
Who praises now? His Chaplain on his Tomb."

The career of Philip Duke of Wharton is the tragic course of an unbalanced mind, without definite principles, and without fixity of purpose. He was born in 1698, and succeeded to the title of Marquess of Wharton and vast estates on the death of his father in 1715. The government of George I. did everything possible to attach him to the Hanoverian cause, of which his father had been one of the chief adherents, and while under age he was created Duke of Wharton in 1718. It is very probable that he had some correspondence with the Pretender before this time, and it is said that he met him in Avignon in 1716. It is also said that the Pretender conferred upon him the title of Duke of Northumber-

land; if this be so it will explain the haste shewn by the English Government in raising him to the honour of Duke of Wharton before he was of age. After 1720 he appears as an opponent of the Whig party, and started a political paper, "The True Briton," in 1723, which expired of inanition in 1724. By this time his affairs had got into a state of hopeless confusion owing to his reckless extravagance; his estates were sequestrated, and an allowance of £1,200 was made him. In 1724 he went to the Continent, and ultimately entered the Spanish service and embraced Roman Catholicism. He publicly joined the Pretender and assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland. The English Government caused him to be convicted of High Treason, by which he forfeited his titles and the remnant of his property. He fell into a state of abject poverty, and died in a convent of Bernardines, near Tarragona, in 1731.

In his Masonic career the same qualities were exhibited as in all his other activities. If Anderson is to be credited, the original election to the Grand Mastership was irregular. In 1724 he appears as a "Member of the Society of Gormogons, at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street," having renounced Freemasonry, though, it is singular to relate, in view of this apostacy, he constituted a Lodge at Madrid in 1728.

At a Quarterly Communication held at the Crown Tavern behind the Royall Exchange London 25th Novr. 1723

Agreed That Dr. Desaguliers be Deputy Grand Mar. from the last Annual Meeting.

The irregular methods adopted at the previous meeting were corrected at the earliest opportunity. Bro. Songhurst remarks:—"It would seem as though these resolutions are directed against the Duke of Wharton, who had attempted to usurp powers which had not been conferred upon the office of Grand Master, and to curtail those of Grand Lodge."

Desaguliers was present as Deputy Grand Master on the 19th Feb. 1724, 28 April 1724, 24 June 1724, on which date he signs the Minutes after the Grand Master. (The Duke of Richmond appointed Martin folkes as his Deputy.)

17 March 1725. Desaguliers was appointed one of the Committee "to consider of the Best Methods to regulate the Generall Charity, and Report their Opinion."

24 June 1725. Brother Desaguliers declared from the Grand Mar. that it was his Graces pleasure to continue Martin folkes Esqr. his Deputy . . . for the next Six Months ending at Christmas.

27 December 1725. The Rt. Honble James Lord Paisley was elected G.M. He accepted the honour by letter, and "did likewise by the Same Lre. Appoint Dr. John Theophilus Desagulier his Deputy."

Desaguliers was present 28 Feb. 1726, 12 Dec. 1726, 27 Feb. 1727.

His next attendance was 26 Nov. 1728, when he "proposed (that in order to have the same [the Annual Feast] conducted in the best manner) a certain Number of Stewards should be chosen, who should have the intire Care and Direction of the said Feast (together with the Grand Wardens) pursuant to the printed Regulations." Twelve Stewards were appointed, and after their healths had been drunk, "The Stewards likewise propos'd Dr. Desaguliers Health for reviving the Office of Stewards (which appeared to be agreeable to the Lodge in general) and the same was drank accordingly."

27 Mar. 1729. "Then Dr. Desaguliers acquainted the Brethren that he found the Spirit of Charity reviving in several Lodges, and therefore proposed that the Report of the Committee of Charity should be read, that the Masters and Wardens present should declare whether they were of opinion that the proposals in that Report should be complied with."

11 July 1729. "Dr. Desagulier spoke for the Horn Lodge, and in order to encourage every Lodge to contribute to the general Charity and that no Brother might not be discouraged who perhaps might not have Ability equal to their Inclination."

"Dr. Desagulier spoke a second time and took notice of some Inconveniencies which might attend this general Charity and particularly recommended that they should admit no person into the Society who can be supposed to come in for the sake of the Loaves, and that none shall be intitled to the same who are not regular and are Contributors thereto, and that the time of this Qualification shall commence from their regular admission, in which he acquitted himself to the general Satisfaction of all present."

27 Dec. 1729. There was some discussion on the Charity:—"After which the Rt. Honourable the Earl of Inchiquin seconded Dr. Desagulier's Motion that the same should be considered at the next Quarterly Communication and proposed such as had anything to Offer upon that Subject should put the same in Writing and sign their Names in order to their being laid before the Committee which was agreed to."

29 Jan. 1730. Dr. Desagulier stood up and made a handsom Speech to the Society recommending the general Charity to them intimating that as they had at last agreed to set so commendable a Work on foot, it behoved them to carry on the same, with Unanimity and Zeal, for their own Honour as well as the Advantage of Poor Brethren. And proposed (that in order to have the same conducted in the best manner) there should be a Standing Committee for regulating and disposing of the said Charity in such manner and such proportions as they shall Judge proper, all such Rules as they shall think proper to follow on that Accot, being first communicated to the next Grand Lodge and approved by them. And that this Commee shall consist of all those, who have been or shall be Grand Masters Deputy Grand Masters or Grand Wardens, together with the Grand Master, his Deputy and Grand Wardens for the time being and that the Master of the Senr Lodge for the time being shall always be deem'd a Member of the said Committee. Ordered that the said Proposal be laid before the next Grand Lodge at the Quarterly Communication in order to have the same confirmed.

21 April 1730. Dr. Desagulier seconded the Deputy Grand Master in recommending the general Charity and made some proposals for the better Regulation therof, but severall Disputes arising thereupon, particularly concerning the Establishment of the Committee; Brother Cowper moved that the Original Report of the Committee for the Charity might be read, and the same was read accordingly.

After several Debates it was Resolved that the Committee of Charity should stand as at first agreed to.

Dr. Desagulier acquainted the Grand Lodge that the Directors of the Infirmary at Westminster out of their regard to Masonry (several of them being Masons) had offered to take Care of any poor Brother who may happen to be disabled by broken Limbs &c from following his Employment which often happens amongst working Masons. (Annual grant of Five Guineas given to Infirmary).

28 Aug. 1730. Dr. Desagulier stood up and (taking Notice of a printed Paper lately published and dispersed about the Town, and since inserted in the News Papers, pretending to discover and reveal the Mysterics of the Craft of Masonry) recommended several things to the Consideration of the Grand Lodge, particularly the Resolution of the last

Quarterly Communication for preventing any false Brethren being admitted into regular Lodges and such as call themselves Honorary Masons.

A Note by Bro. Songhurst states that this paper was "*The Mystery of Freemasonry*, printed in the *Daily Journal*, 15th August, 1730."

15 Dec. 1730. A question was raised as to widows and orphans being eligible for the Charity.

The Lodge not seeming to be unanimous in their Opinion on that head, Dr. Desagulier proposed that the Consideration of this Affair should be deferred till such time as the general Charity could admitt of Money being put out to Interest, and that then the said Widows and Orphans (if the Grand Lodge should think fitt) might be relieved out of the Interest but not out of the Principal; which was agreed to,

Desagulier seconded postponement of election of Grand Master.

29 Jan. 1731. Seconds health of Deputy Grand Master as Treasurer of the Charity Fund.

17 Mar. 1731. Dr. Desagulier taking Notice of some Irregularities in wearing the Marks of Distinction which have been allowed by former Grand Lodges, Proposed, That none but the Grand Master, his Deputy and Wardens shall wear their Jewels in Gold or Gilt pendant to blue Ribbons about their Necks and white Leather Aprons lined with blue Silk.

That all those who have served any of the three Grand Offices shall wear the like Aprons lined with blue Silk in all Lodges and assemblies of Masons when they appear clothed.

That those Brethren that are Stewards shall wear their Aprons lined with red Silk and their proper Jewels pendant to red Ribbons.

That all those who have served the Office of Steward be at liberty to wear Aprons lined with red Silk and not otherwise, That all Masters and Wardens of Lodges may wear their Aprons lined with white Silk and their respective Jewels with plain White Ribbons but of no other Colour whatsoever.

The Deputy Grand Master accordingly put the Question whether the above Regulation should be agreed to.

And it was carried in the affirmative Nemine con.

In the 1730 List of Lodges, Desagulier appears as member of the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher Row (now St. George's and Corner Stone No. 5) and of the University Lodge, which met at the same house.

Desagulier was present at Grand Lodge on

14 May 1731.

24 June 1731. A Petition on behalf of Henry Pritchard was read, and it was resolved:—

That the Treasurer of the general Charity do pay to Br. Henry Pritchard the sum of five pounds towards his further Releife, and desired that Dr. Desagulier would be pleased to see the same applied in the best manner for that purpose.

Desagulier was present at Grand Lodge on Mar. 2 1732, and on 13 April 1732, and on 19 April 1732 when Viscount Montague was installed as Grand Master.

29 May 1733. A Petition on behalf of Br. Lillingston was considered, and it was resolved:—

That Nathaniel Blackerby Esqr Treasurer pay the said five Guineas into the hands of Dr. Desagulier for the use of Br. Lillingston to be given him in the following manner; one Guinea immediately and the remaining four Guineas as 7s. p Week.

On 13 Dec. 1733 Desaguliers supported collection of funds to send distressed brethren to the new Colony of Georgia.

Desaguliers attended the meetings on

18 Mar. 1734 and

24 Feb. 1735, on the second occasion acting as D.G.M. pro tempore

Dr. Desagulier proposed twenty Guineas of it to be given to the said Gentleman which being seconded and Supported the same was agreed to Nemine con. [to relieve a member of the Lodge at the Rummer, Charing Cross, name not given].

Dr. Desagulier produced a Letter which he had just received from His Grace of Richmond, signifying that he hoped to be at the Grand Lodge presently in which he inclosed a Petition from Br. Odell Setting forth his having fallen under unavoidable Misfortunes, and desiring the Favour of the G. Master and the Grand Lodge in his Behalf, and attested by the Duke himself.

(10 Guineas granted).

24 June 1735. The Reverend Dr. Desagulier for John Ward Esqr D.G.M.

The Deputy Grand Master very Justly took Notice of the great want of Order that had sometimes happened in the Debates of these Assemblies, and earnestly recommended to those present the preserving proper Decency and Temper in the Management of the Debates, that might at any time arise. In order to which he advised that only one person should speake at a time, and that no Brother should attempt to interrupt another while he was upon his Legs, and addressing himself to the Chair, the person which was concerned to moderate in the Dispute, and preserve Order and Decorum was pleased to promise, that when he had done, if two or three happened to rise at a time they should all be heard to the Point in their turn His Worship desiring only that the Practice of the Grand Lodge in this Case might be a fitt Pattern to be followed by every private Lodge. This proposition was received with very great applause.

6 April 1736. Dr. Desagulier late G.M. acting as D.G.M. pro tempore.

28 April 1737.	} Desaguliers was present at these three meetings.
25 Jan. 1738.	
6 Aprill 1738.	

31 Jan. 1739. (Election of Treasurer) When Bro: Desagulier moved that it might be left to the Right Worshiopl. G:M. to name some person to serve that Office Which was agreed to And he thereon named Bro: John Jesse of the Post Office Esqr to be Treasurer who was unanimously approved off.

He is recorded as attending the meetings on 28 March 1740; 22 April 1740; 23 July 1740; 19 March 1741; and 8 February 1743. He died 29 February 1744, but at the meeting on 4 April no mention was made of his death.

Desaguliers was a frequent visitor to Bath, where he went to try to get rid of the gout, which he suffered from considerably. Gould ii., 353, says:—"In the same year (1737)—also in 1738, and later—he was a frequent visitor at the Lodge then held at the Bear Inn, Bath—now the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41—from the Minutes of which we learn that he frequently sat as Master, and discharged the ceremonial duties incidental to that office." He made John Lord Hervey a Mason in the Lodge at the Queen's Head at Bath in 1724.

NOTE D.—DESAGULIERS AND HIGHER DEGREES.

In *A.Q.C.* xxx., pp. 176 *et seq.*, is a very valuable paper by Bro. Wonnacott on the 2nd Duke of Richmond, who was Grand Master 1724-5. In this paper it is related that while Desaguliers was visiting the Duke of Montagu at Ditton in 1734, Mick Broughton wrote to the Duke of Richmond from that place:—

Ditton, 27 Dec. 1734.

My dear Lord,

. . . Bro. Webber and Juli attended the D. of Mon. hither in his new chaise . . . Some great Mason is wanting to initiate Bob Webber.

This was a reference to the Doctor—the great Mason—who performed the ceremony, as we hear in the next letter:—

Ditton, New Year's Day 1734-5.

My dear Lord,

. . . Hollis and Desaguliers (who came hither on his Crutches on Saturday, and able to go without them in 24 hours) have been super-excellent in their different ways, and often at one another's. . . . On Sunday Night at a Lodge in the Library, St. John, Albemarle and Russell made chapters: and Bob (Webber) Admitted Apprentice: the Dr. being very hardly perswaded to the Latter, by reason of Bob's tender years and want of Aprons.

(Desaguliers used crutches because he suffered from gout.)

On these letters Bro. Wonnacott makes the following comments:—

We wonder to see such a stickler for the law as Desaguliers taking a part in this ceremony of making, after having stood up in the Grand Lodge against the irregular making of Masons. Still more is our wonder of another sort as to what is meant to be conveyed by the phrase "made chapters" in the year 1734.

In the discussion which followed the paper, Bro. Songhurst said:—

A note as to Desaguliers may perhaps usefully be added. He appears to be alluded to by Verus Commodus in his "Letter to a friend concerning the Society of Freemasons," published in 1725, with the second Edition of "The Grand Mystery of Freemasons Discover'd" (Gould, *History of Freemasonry* iii., 480). The writer says:—"I protest, Sir, I had like to have forgotten one Man, who makes a most Il-Lustrious Figure amongst 'em; and stiles himself R.S.S. & L.L.D. He makes wonderful brags of being of the Fifth Order: I presume (as he is a Mason) he means the Fifth Order of Architecture. . . . The Doctor pretends he had found out a Mysterious, Hocus-pocus Word, which belongs to the Anathema pronounced against Ananias and Sapphira, in the 5th Chapter of the Acts; and he farther pretends, That against whomsoever he (as a Member of the

Fifth Order) shall pronounce the terrible Word, the Person shall instantly drop down dead, as they did."

In suggesting this as a reference to Desaguliers I am aware that I am running counter to the opinion of Bro. Hughan, who claimed it for Dr. Rawlinson, following a writer in the *Freemasons' Magazine* for 1857, who apparently so identified it because a copy of the letter was found amongst Rawlinson's papers in the Bodleian Library. I would, however, point out that Rawlinson was on the Grand Tour from 1719 to 1726, while the publication of the Letter was in 1725, and he is not known to have been connected with the Craft until after his return to London. Desaguliers, on the other hand, had been very prominently associated with Masonry from the early days of Grand Lodge, and had held the office of Grand Master, as well as that of Deputy on several occasions. The description of his non-Masonic attainments would fit him quite as well as Rawlinson, and while we may not be inclined to accept without question an unsupported statement with regard to his membership of a "Fifth Order" in Masonry, a reference to the possession by him of superior secrets cannot be ignored entirely.

NOTE E. DESAGULIERS AS A POET.

"*The Newtonian System of the World, the Best Model of Government: An Allegorical Poem. With a plain and intelligible Account of the System of the World, by Way of Annotations: With Copper Plates: To which is added, Cambria's Complaint Against the Intercalary Day in the Leap-Year.*

By J. T. Desaguliers, LL.D., Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Chandos, and F.R.S. Westminster: Printed by A. Campbell, for J. Roberts in Warwick Lane; and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1728. (Price 1s. 6d.)"

When reading this book, and particularly the Preface, it must be remembered that the nation had got very tired of George I., and, as is always the case, hoped for better things under the new monarch—though as also usually happens these hopes did not lead to anything tangible. George I. did not get on very well with his son and heir. It was one of the peculiarities of the early Hanoverian sovereigns that they always quarrelled with their heirs. George the First was jealous of his son, who, being able to speak English, had better opportunities than his father of making himself popular. Thackeray says of George II.:—"In religion he was little better than a heathen. In private life the old pagan revelled in the lowest pleasures. But, with his hireling House of Commons he defended liberty for us; with his incredulity he kept Churchcraft down. He gave Englishmen no conquests, but he gave them peace and ease and freedom." He died at the age of 77, after ruling for 33 years. As an historian says: "Though not a great king, he was by no means without his merits. He was true to his friends and steady in his policy, and in the troublous times of his successor, his days were remembered not without regret."

Queen Caroline, on the other hand, was a much more remarkable personage. As a girl she had shewn her independence of character by stoutly refusing to marry a Roman Catholic; and on arriving in England she rapidly made herself mistress of English politics, and of the true character of the chief public men. She interested herself also in literature and learning; offered a place in the household to Gay, who had written his Fables for the diversion of her little son William, afterwards duke of Cumberland; made the acquaintance of Swift; delighted in metaphysical discussions; and was an appreciative patron of the musician Handel. Over the king she exercised, though at the expense

of much trouble, an almost unbounded influence. Indeed, so long as she lived, it was she and not her husband who really directed the politics of the court; and as she had a perfect understanding with Walpole, his position during her life was impregnable. From the preface we learn the date of Desaguliers' birthday, March the first.

PREFACE.

The Universal Joy that fill'd all English Hearts at His present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, had so strong an Effect upon me, as to draw me from the serious and rugged researches of Philosophy, to the lighter and more agreeable Amusement of Poetry. Thus influenc'd, I was resolv'd to endeavour at something that might at once shew my Zeal and Loyalty, and at the same Time divert Her most Gracious Majesty with my first Poetical Experiment, as I have had the great Honour of entertaining Her with Philosophical ones. The following Poem was wrote last Summer, and intended to be publish'd on the Day of the Coronation: But when I consider'd that several Astronomical Terms and Allusions wou'd want explaining to such Readers as had not been conversant in the Coelestial Science, I resolv'd to add a few Notes, tho' they were not necessary to those Great Persons, for whom my Poem was chiefly design'd. Then again, remembering that it is a common Saying, that Philosophers are the worst of Poets, and yet, being unwilling to suppress the first Offspring of my Muse, I enlarg'd my Annotations, and illustrated them with Copper Plates, so as to give a full Account of the System of the World, in a plain and intelligible Manner, together with a Confutation of those false Hypotheses which have sometimes obtain'd among learned Men. Thus have I tack'd my Poetry to Philosophy, to make it go down; and tho' it shou'd be thrown out by a Majority, I hope, by this Expedient, to gain a sufficient Number to keep it from being waste Paper.

CAMBRIA'S Complaint was written since the Astronomical Poem was in the Press.

When I consider'd the First of March, as my own Birth-Day, I was indeed pleas'd at the Intercalary Day, which puts it off once in four Years, but bore it with Patience, because the Bissextile was settled by Astronomers; but as it is Her Sacred Majesty's Birth-Day, and thus delay'd in the first Year of Her Reign, I cou'd no longer bear it; and therefore, to revenge the Affront offer'd to the ROYAL CONSORT by an intruding Day, I invok'd the Muse to complain, in the Person of Cambria, with all the Wrath and just Resentment, becoming the tutelar Goddess of that Principality.

This preface is a real human document. It reveals a sense of humour which hitherto we have not observed in the author's writings. At that period "It was the rule to be dazzled by princes, and people's eyes winked quite honestly at the Royal radiance"; so that the coincidence of birthdays was probably a matter of genuine congratulation to the learned divine, who gladly seized the opportunity of letting the general public know about it. A charming and innocent vanity.

If the Newtonian System is to be judged on its merits as poetry, it must at once be confessed that it is really very poor poetry, some of the rhymes are difficult to rhyme, and the sense is rather obscure. Fortunately the poem is of secondary importance, the real value is in the notes, and there are more notes than lines of poetry. But the idea of conveying instruction on the Ptolemaic and Copernican theories under the guise of poetry must have struck terror into the minds of the unsophisticated reader, who probably got something that he did not bargain for.

One sample of the poem, the concluding lines, will suffice:—

Now sing of Princes deeply vers'd in Laws,
And Truth will crown thee with a just Applause;
Rouse up thy Spirits, and exalt thy Voice
Loud as the Shouts, that speak the People's Joys;
When MAJESTY diffusive Rays imparts,
And kindles Zeal in all the British Hearts,
When all the Powers of the Throne we see
Exerted, to maintain our Liberty:
When Ministers within their Orbits move,
Honour their King, and shew each other Love:
When all Distinctions cease, except it be
Who shall the most excell in Loyalty:
Comets from far, now gladly wou'd return,
And, pardon'd, with more faithful Ardour burn.
ATTRACTION now in all the Realm is seen,
To bless the reign of GEORGE and CAROLINE.

The LEAP-YEAR or Cambria's Complaint has one allusion which throws an interesting light on the objections prevailing at the time to the revisal of the calendar, the opposition to which was only overcome when by the influence of Lord Chesterfield in 1752 the Julian Calendar was given up and the Gregorian Calendar adopted, thus bringing England into line with the rest of the Continent. By this time the reckoning had got eleven days behind the correct date. The Act directed that the 3rd of September 1752 was to be reckoned as the 14th, and the year 1753 was to begin on January 1st, instead of on Lady Day, March 25th, as heretofore. This change, which did away with much confusion and difficulty, was strongly resented by insular prejudice. An election cry of "Give us back our eleven days," and, "In 1753, The year was changed to popery,"—the refrain of a popular song—preserved the memory of the mixture of ignorance and prejudice by which it was in some quarters received. Desaguliers evidently foresaw the line the opposition would take:

Fain wou'd I act with Caution, and with Ease
To scrupulous and tender Consciences;
Fain make a Reconciling Step to Rome,
Yet not bring back a Rag of Pop'ry home;
One Common Form of Reck'ning introduce,
But leave the Toleration still in Use.

This will insensibly compose the Jars
Betwixt the Two contending Calendars.
And may our Aims, to make their Quarrel cease,
Prove a sure Omen to Europa's Peace.

What success this poetical effusion had is not now possible to determine; at any rate, he did not tempt the muse of poetry again, and this is the rarest of his works.

NOTE F. CHARLES LABELYE AND WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.

Charles Labelye (this is his way of spelling his own name and is presumably the correct one, though contemporary writers vary considerably in the matter) was a Swiss engineer who acted for a time as assistant to Desaguliers in his experimental laboratory. His Masonic record is appended. He was engineer of the new bridge at Westminster. It is stated in *Old and New London* that the Bridge was built 1738-1750 and was said to have cost £389,500. It was started as a Wooden structure, but a severe frost which closed up the

river entirely, tore out some of the piers, and then stone was adopted. The new work seems never to have been satisfactory as due allowance was not made for scour, and repairs were constantly needed. Eventually when London Bridge was taken down the scour increased to such an extent that it was decided it would be cheaper to pull down the old structure and put up a new one. This was done 1855-1862, the cost of the new bridge being £206,000. The western side of the present bridge was built up against the old bridge which was then taken down and the eastern side erected. (In spite of the weakness of construction the old bridge was kept up for well over 100 years.)

A pamphlet entitled *A Short Account of the Methods made use of in Laying the Foundation of the Piers of Westminster Bridge*, was published by Charles Labelye in 1739, who gives full details of the work and explains the reasons for his procedure. He says that all the Calculations were examined and approved of, in 1736, by the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers, and several other Gentlemen, very competent Judges of those Matters. But it is evident from his remarks that his plans met with a considerable amount of opposition and criticism.

He mentions the finding of a coin of Domitian in the river bed. He says that he will "give a more particular Account, with a Description of all the Parts, hereafter, if it please God to continue me in Health, and the Honourable Commissioners give me Leisure for it," but if he did this, I have not come across a copy.

Charles de L'Abelye appears in the Grand Lodge List of 1725 as a member of Solomon's Temple, Hemmings Row, of which Desaguliers was Master. He next appears April 17th 1728 as signing, as Master pro tempore, a petition from a Lodge at Madrid asking for recognition of the Lodge which had been irregularly constituted by the Duke of Wharton. The Grand Lodge acceded to the request.

On the 26 Nov. 1728 there is an entry in the Grand Lodge Proceedings:—"Mr. Labelle the present Master of the Lodge held at Madrid in Spain stood up and confirm'd what was some time past delivered in a Letter from the said Lodge to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge in England (concerning their Regularity and submission to us &c.) and acquitted himself in a handsom manner like a Gentleman and a good Mason."

On Mar. 27 1729 the Grand Lodge Minutes record:—"The Master of the Lodge at Madrid stood up and represented that his Lodge had never been regularly constituted by the Authority of the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens in England and therefore humbly prayed a Deputation for that purpose." This was granted:—"Then Br. Labelle's Health was drank, and after he drank the Gd. Master's Health Deputy Grand Master's and Grand Wardens with all the Brethrens present and prosperity to the Craft wheresoever dispersed." A fairly inclusive toast!

Obviously some uneasiness was felt by the Madrid Brethren with respect to the legality of the action of the Duke of Wharton, which was remedied by this means.

In the 1730 list he appears as Mr. Cha: De La Belle as Warden of the Lodge at the White Bear in King's Street Golden Square, now represented by the Royal Alpha No. 16.

At the subsequent banquet, W. Bro. J. HERON LEPPER, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master":—

BRETHREN,

Our Brother John Stokes, whose health I have now the honour to propose, was born 12th December, 1865, in Sheffield, where his family was connected with one of those fine arts for which that city is justly celebrated. He was educated

at Sheffield Royal Grammar School and at the Universities of Durham and Sheffield where he has obtained at various times the degrees of M.A., M.D., LL.B., B.Sc., in addition to having become M.R.C.P. and Barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple. He has held various posts as lecturer in his 'Varsity, and is at present Physician to the Sheffield Children's Hospital.

In his early days Bro. Stokes was a great traveller, saw many nations and their manners, acquired foreign tongues, and thus obtained that broad outlook on life which makes his conversation so interesting, his views so charitable, and his judgments so sound.

On the outbreak of the late Great War, Bro. Stokes completely forgot that, as years are reckoned, he was well past the meridian of life; he only remembered that he was of full Masonic age, and consequently he served his King and Country in the R.A.M.C. on the battlefields of France and Flanders.

In Freemasonry our Brother has had a long and distinguished career. He has been thirty-eight years a Craftsman, having been initiated October, 1887, in Britannic Lodge No. 139, Sheffield, in which he served as W.M. in 1896. He has also filled the Chair of White Rose of York Lodge in 1898. He is a P.Pr.G.W. of West Yorks and P.G.D. of England.

In the Royal Arch, Bro. Stokes is P.Z., P.Pr.G.Soj. of West Yorks., and P.A.G.Soj. England.

In the A.A.R. he is P.M.W.S. and 32°. He is Treasurer of the Talbot Chapter, Rose Croix.

In the Mark he is P.M. and P.Pr.G.W. West Yorks.

In the K.T. he is P.E.P., P.Prov. Prelate of West Yorks., and P.G.M.B.B. of England.

In the Red Cross he is P.M.P.S., P.G.G., and D.I.G. of West Yorks.

He is also a prominent member of the Societas Rosicrucians in Anglia and has received the honorary highest grade of that Order.

As a Masonic author our Brother is probably best known to us by his "History of Royal Arch Masonry in Sheffield," written in collaboration with Brother David Flather; his other writings include: "History of Chapter of Paradise"; "Britannia Mark Lodge"; "De Furnival Preceptory"; and "The Sheffield Masonic Benefit Society," a paper which was read before this Lodge in March, 1921.

From the foregoing you will appreciate the fact, Brethren, that there is scarcely a branch of Masonic activity which Bro. Stokes has not aided by his labours; but while we are justly proud of the distinctions which have come to a member of our own Lodge, it is precisely in his more personal aspect as a member of this Lodge that I wish to present his health to you to-night. We have placed in the Chair the very best type of English gentleman and Mason, who will do us honour wherever he represents us; one who has endeared himself to all who know him by that shrewd wit and sound common sense, to say nothing of his unfailing good humour, which are characteristic of the place whence he comes. We have good reason to be proud that to-night we have a Brother to preside over us, who as a friend is true as his own native steel, who as a Mason is an example to us all, and who as a student has upheld the best traditions of this Lodge. When we reflect that amid all the pressure of an exacting profession he has never shirked the long railway journey to attend our meetings since he became a member of this Lodge, we shall consider him entitled to our gratitude as well as our admiration: and I will now ask you to help me to show what a very great deal of gratitude, admiration, and above all real affection we bear to our dear Brother John Stokes.

Brethren, I give you the health of our W.M.

NOTES AND QUERIES.



ALTER HANCOX (FREEMASON).—In *A.Q.C.* xxxii., 74, is a note by Bro. R. H. Baxter of an entry as to the Burial of Walter Hancox, freemason, at Much Wenlock (Salop) in September, 1599. After the usual entry there is in the Register an eulogium on the operative abilities of the deceased. It is said his works might be seen in divers parts of England and Wales, "moste sompteouse buildings, most stately tombes, most curyous pictures."

I have not been able to trace any work of the deceased or any other biographical note relating to him, but his Will is recorded at Somerset House in Register Kidd 76.

The will describes him as of Much Wenlock Salop "Free mazon" and was dated "the last day of Julie in the one and fortieth year of Her Ma^{tie}'s raigne." It was proved on 26th October 1599 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury by a Procurator for his widow "Francisse Hancockes." He left two children under 15 years of age and gave his Father William Hancockes forty shillings and "my paire of Buffe Britches." He records that Sir Edward Symson Knt. owes him forty shillings for doing him works out of bargain (the modern equivalent is "extras"), and admits that he owes £3.19.0 which is to be paid by Mrs. Madeline Herbot in respect of work done by his appointment at Montgomerie.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

Richard Bancks.—On page 105, *ante*, Bro. W. J. Williams mentions the will of Richard Bancks, freemason, 1653, and states that a copy of the Old Charges is endorsed with a reference to the above named who was master of the Masons' Company in 1647. From this it might be gathered that Richard Bancks in addition to being a past master of the Masons Company was also a member of an organisation calling themselves freemasons.

As a matter of fact there was no company of Masons in 1647 and Bancks was Master of the Company of Freemasons in that year. (Conder, p. 104, note.)

According to Conder, the copy of the Old Charges is in the handwriting of Mr. Hamond, clerk to the company of Masons in 1677, and a Mr. Richard Bancks was elected to the court of Assistants in that year. (Conder, p. 257.)

GEO. W. BULLAMORE.

I have had an opportunity of seeing and considering Bro. Bullamore's note, and thank him for calling attention to the Richard Bancks of 1677, who seems more likely than the Testator Richard Bancks to be the person whose name is endorsed on the copy referred to.

The fact that there was a period during which the members of the Company called it the Company of Freemasons, did not annihilate the Masons' Company. As a legal entity it would seem that the strictly correct name of the Company never did include the prefix *Free*, and I am not aware that it ever was a mistake to allude to the Company without such prefix. Possibly Bro. Bullamore is the first person to assert that "as a matter of fact there was no company of Masons in 1647."

However that may be, the Company ceased to use the prefix about 1655, so reverting to their correct title.

W. J. WILLIAMS.

The Earl of Middlesex and the Sackville Medal.—As long ago as the year 1899 (in *A.Q.C.* xii., 204), Bro. Begemann drew attention to the fact that the Sackville medal had been illustrated and referred to in a German book published in 1738. The following year (in *A.Q.C.* xiii., 142, *et seq.*) Bro. Chetwode Crawley contributed an article on the subject of the medal. To recapitulate some of the most important points made in this article, Bro. Crawley showed that the Earl of Middlesex was actually at Florence from October, 1732, to June, 1733; that he arrived with his father, the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in Dublin, 1733, and on the 24th November following attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ireland; and finally, that a passage dated 1730, in "Masonry Farther Dissected," published in 1738, shows Masonic Lodges to have existed in Florence as early as 1730. Bro. Crawley concluded that the Earl of Middlesex was probably an Irish Mason, and that he found at Florence a Lodge already existent wherein he served as Master (hence the medal), but did not find one there.

Bro. Begemann's "History of Freemasonry in Ireland" (Berlin, 1911) contains some fresh matter on this subject, and as the book has never been translated into English, the following note will probably be of service to students. Those who read German may be referred to the original "Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in Irland," page 121, *et seq.*—

In the year 1738 appeared at Frankfort A.M. a book entitled "Gründliche | Nachricht | von den | Frey-Maurern | nebst | angehängter historischen | Schutz-Schrift." On the title-page both sides of the Sackville medal were reproduced. The book itself was a translation of the English edition of Smith's "Pocket Companion," 1735, but several chapters, not in Smith, were added giving news of the Fraternity throughout Europe.

Chapter 10, dealing with Italy, stated news had been received from that country that Lord Charles Sackville, "Duke of Middlesex," had founded a Lodge of Freemasons at Florence and caused a medal to be struck to commemorate the occurrence. Then followed a description of the medal.

But, as Bro. Crawley had pointed out in the article quoted above, this account in the "Gründliche Nachricht" was borrowed from an earlier German work, Johann David Köhler's "Historische Münz-Belustigung" (Nuremberg, 1736, part viii.; fasciculus 17; p. 129, *et seq.*). In it the author stated that he had received the medal from Florence two years previously, gave the description of it afterwards borrowed by the editor of "Gründliche Nachricht," and ended by confessing that he had no information about "Charles Sackville."

This brings us to Bro. Begemann's new discovery, that in a subsequent fasciculus (No. 26) Köhler published a letter, dated 9th June, 1736, which he had received from a Correspondent in Florence. This letter, which is given in the original Italian and a German translation, first of all informed Köhler as to Sackville's identity, "the firstborn son of Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke and Earl of Dorset, present Viceroy of Ireland." It then continued:—

"Mylord Earl of Middlesex, one of the most learned British noblemen, was in Florence and founded a Lodge of Freemasons in Florence, and I was accepted with the usual ceremonies as a member of this respectable Society, which later at its own cost caused the commemorative medal of Mylord to be struck; he did not wish that any other title should be placed on it but *Carolus Sackville Magister* (*i.e.*, of the Lodge of Freemasons) *Florentinus*. The reverse of the medal represents Harpocrates, with the attributes that are found on engraved gems; on one side can be seen the tools of the masons, on the other the mystic basket with the snake and thyrsus-staff of Bacchos, referring to the mysteries of the aforesaid God etc. Herr Professor Köhler doubtless knows that the present Duke of Lorraine was accepted as a worthy member of the Society of Freemasons at the time he was in London and that the aforesaid Duke later founded a similar Lodge in Vienna, therefore dependent upon the Lodge of the Grand Master of England."

It will be noted that the scribe, who has not yet been identified, has gone wrong about the facts of the initiation of Francis of Lorraine, but this does not impair the interest and value of his letter.

It will also be noted that the medal was struck not by Middlesex from a feeling of self-importance, but by his Brethren at their own charge, in honour of their Master and founder; also that the young nobleman evidently prized the badge of a Mason higher than those high titles entailed in him by birth. Truly, this letter contains more than enough evidence to prove the Earl of Middlesex a true and worthy Brother.

Bro. Begemann considers himself justified in drawing certain further conclusions from this letter:—

(1) That Bro. Crawley's contention that Middlesex found a Lodge of Freemasons already existent at Florence in 1733 cannot be sustained.

(2) That Middlesex was undoubtedly an Irish Mason; for he came of age only in February, 1732, and could not have been initiated under the Grand Lodge of England till attaining the full age of 25, whereas the Grand Lodge of Ireland only demanded 21 years of the candidate.

(3) The Lodge at Florence was not founded by an English Mason, or the writer of the letter would not have drawn the tacit distinction between it and the Vienna Lodge founded by the Duke of Lorraine, and subject to the Grand Lodge of England as its founder had been initiated under that Constitution.

Nothing would please me better than to accept all these conclusions of Bro. Begemann, but in default of further evidence I fear it is still necessary to exercise caution: a strong probability has been shown, but no definite proof of the Earl of Middlesex's Irish initiation.

The facts, as we know them, contain nothing against the theory. The Earl of Middlesex took his M.A. degree at Oxford in the autumn of 1730, and thus was free to accompany his father to Dublin in September, 1731. This was the year of the great Irish Masonic revival under Lord Kingston, and there was much in the public notices of the Craft to attract either the curiosity or the sympathy of the young nobleman. He was of full Masonic age, for Ireland, in February, 1732. There was ample time, therefore, for him to have passed through the degrees before setting off on his Italian journey. Finally, he returned to Dublin in September, 1733, and in November following attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge, so his initiation must have taken place before the journey abroad.

On the other hand, I think we are not warranted to assume that no one could be initiated in England after 1721 until he had reached the age of 25. In those early days the laws were often broken, and definite instances of Masons being initiated in well-known London Lodges while yet under the statutory age could be found without difficulty.

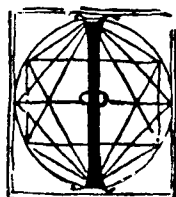
There is also the negative evidence that no record exists of an Irish Warrant having been issued for Florence. For reasons known to every student of early Irish Masonic records, we must not make too much of this default; the destination of some of the earliest is unknown to us, for Smith's list of 1735, though correct in the main, is not exhaustive, and the earliest official roll extant is a copy made about 1761, with many gaps in the earlier numbers.

Finally, I do not give the same credence to the Florentian correspondent's remarks about the Vienna Lodge as is due to facts that came under his own observation in Italy. It would be unsafe to argue from statements he chose to make about the Duke of Lorraine, particularly as we know him to have been wrong about one essential particular, the initiation.

For my own part, therefore, I suspend judgment about Bro. Begemann's conclusions while giving him full credit for a most valuable addition to our knowledge of early Masonic history.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

OBITUARY.



It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Robert Audley, of Stoke-on-Trent, in 1925. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.J. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in November, 1914.

William Norwood Cheesman, J.P., F.L.S., of Selby, Yorks., on 7th November, 1925. Bro. Cheesman held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. and P.Pr.G.J., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1893.

D. W. Greatbatch, of Hawkhurst, Kent, on 16th August, 1925. Our Brother had held the office of Dis.G.W. in S. Africa (C.D.), and was P.Z. of Richard Giddy Chapter No. 1574. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1892.

Le Comte **Eugène Félicien Albert Goblet d'Alviella**, Membre de l'Académie Royale, of Brabant, Belgium, on the 8th September, 1925, Past Grand Master of Belgium. Bro. Goblet d'Alviella was elected to our Correspondence Circle in February, 1890, and became a full member of the Lodge in March, 1909.

Horace Salmon Godfray, of St. Heliers, Jersey, C.I., on the 30th June, 1925. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C. and P.Pr.G.S.B. (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1920.

Frederick George Kirkby, of Leicester, in 1925. Bro. Kirkby was J.W. of the Lodge of Research No. 2429, and a member of the De Mowbray Chapter No. 1130. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1919.

Thomas Morrison, of Sheffield, on 10th September, 1925. A P.M. of Ensor Drury Lodge No. 3278. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1925.

G. D. Mowbray, of Stockton-on-Tees, on 24th July, 1925. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1913.

Thomas Norfolk, of Bradford, on 17th October, 1925. A member of Harmony Lodge No. 600, and one of the very early members of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in 1888.

John Frederick Oldham, of Pawtucket, R.I., U.S.A., on 23rd August, 1925, in his 70th year. He was a P.M. of Barney Merry Lodge No. 29, and for many years its Secretary; a P.Dis.Dep.G.M., and Past Grand High Priest. Our Brother joined the Correspondence Circle in October, 1915.

William Thomas Pilkington, of Middleton, Lancs., on 3rd July, 1925. Bro. Pilkington was a member of St. Martin's Lodge No. 2320, and of Unity Chapter No. 298. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1923.

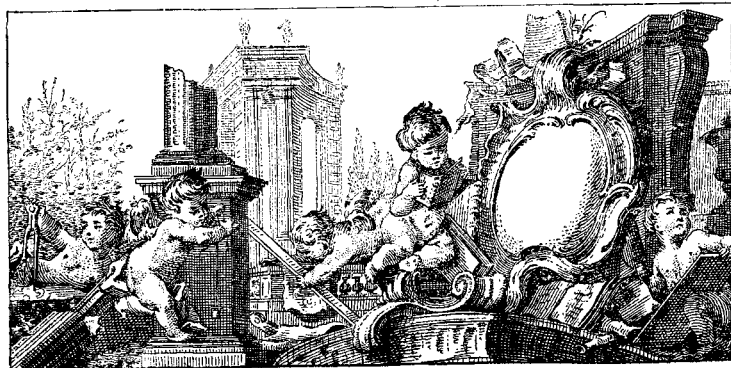
William H. Tarrant, of Bournemouth, on 5th September, 1925. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.O., Oxon., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1897.

William Wynn Westcott, M.B. (Lond.), J.P., at Durban, Natal, on 30th July, 1925. Bro. Westcott had held office as Pr.G.D.C. of Somerset, as well as Grand Deacon and Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.) of England. He was one of the very early members of the Lodge, which he joined in December, 1886, and was Master in 1894.

Henry Montague Williams, of Brighton. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.R. both in the Craft and the R.A. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1895.

Percy Edward Williams, of Willoughby, N.S.W., in 1925. Bro. Williams was a P.M. of Lodge No. 230. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1916.

Thomas Mansley Woodhead, of Baildon, Yorks., on 27th October, 1925. Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1901.



ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1925:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Camden Lodge No. 704, London; St. Alban's Lodge No. 3906, Verulam, S. Africa; Baghdad Lodge No. 4022, Iraq; Nordlyset's Deputationsloge, Kristiansund, Norway; Lodge Stella Polaris, Tromsø, Norway; Kerang Lodge No. 100 (V.C.), Kerang, Victoria; Burma Lodge of Instruction (No. 832), Rangoon, Burma; Holmesdale Lodge of Instruction (No. 874), Tunbridge Wells, Kent; Masonic Library of Peking, China; Tampa Consistory, Tampa, Florida.

BRETHREN:—Arthur Ernest Ackers, of Sydney, Victoria. P.G.D., Scotland; Eric Gustav Alven, London, W. 2190; William Fenton Anderson, of Bolton, Lancs. P.M. 146, 348; Cecil William Annis, of Chichester. 4469; William Appleyard, of Bradford. P.M. 974, 974; Lt. Austin E. Armitage, R.E., of London, S.W. 859; J. Armsden, of Bognor. W.M. 1726; Pheanas Charles Balcon, of Birmingham. 4340; Capt. Hon. James Moncrieff Balfour, of London, S.W. W.M. 44 (S.C.), G.Sup., M. & E. Lothian; Robert Hoyle Barker, of Manchester. 1496, 283; Willie Gilbert Beeston, of Buenos Aires. P.Dis.G.W., P.Dis.G.So.; John Beharrell, of Hessle, E. Yorks. 2134, 2134; Francis Dominick Bellew, of Port Harcourt, B.W. Africa. J.W. 3881, 3881; Herbert Bennett Billington, of Barnsley, Yorks. P.M. 1513, P.Z. 1513; Capn. John Cameron Black, J.P., of Glasgow. J.W. 1241, 187; Frederick George Geary Blackler, of Oxford. 340, 340; Major Hugh Alexander Blair, of London, S.W. 4; Charles Henry Boag, of Alberta. 6; Lt.-Col. Raymond Frederic Boileau, of Wymondham. Past Grand Deacon, Past Grand Sojourner, Dep.Pr.G.M., Norfolk; Major George Seton Briscoe, D.S.O., of London, S.W. P.M. 2773; Sir Augustus Alexander Brooke-Pechell, of London, S.W. L.R., P.M. 2016, 2016; John Brougham, of Sheffield. 3849; Thomas Burfield, M.A., M.B., B.C., of Heathfield, Sussex. J.W. 4499, 916; Frank Burnett, of Four Oaks, Warwickshire. P.Pr.G.D., P.Z. 887; Samuel Wesley Handy Burton, of Kesh, Co. Fermanagh. P.M. 819, 819; D. C. Cameron, of Dunedin, N.Z.; William John Canton, LL.B., of Dowlais, Glam. W.M. 110, 110; Charles Roland Clare, of Liverpool. P.M. 4389, 1356; William Clark, of Chichester. 4469; Rev. John William Clough, M.A., of Nunney, Somerset. P.Pr.G.Ch., West Yorks., P.Z. 387; Albert Edward Coe, of Norwich. P.Pr.G.W., H. 52; Samuel Cordrey, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 636, 636; Edward Dance, M.Sc., A.I.C., of Bangalore. 2735, 2735; Schalk Izak Bridger de Villiers, of Senekal, S. Africa. 110 (D.C.); Major Thomas Wallace Dickie, R.M., of Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh. P.M. 332, 854; James Sholto Cameron Douglas, of Sheffield. P.Pr.G.Pt. (Oxon), P.Pr.G.So. (Oxon); Richard Edwards, of Birmingham. 114, 938; Montague Flamank Edyvean, of Bodmin, Cornwall. P.Pr.G.R., P.Pr.G.D.C.; Ernest Fiannder Etchells, of London, S.W. 3244, 3244; Dr. Charles Edward Evans, of London, E. 1227, 1227; Edwin James Evans, of London, W. P.M. 554, L.C.R.; George Henry Exeter, of Harrow-on-the-Hill. 3423, 3423; Ernest Felce, of Birkenhead. P.M. 537; Basil Morey Ford, of Ladysmith, S. Africa. Dis.G.Ch., H. 2401; Henry Knollys Foster, of Malvern. 3146; Ronald Garch, of Girgarre, Victoria. 225; Edward Owen Gilmore, of New York

City. 85; Herbert Joseph Goodwin, of Chigwell, Essex. Pr.G.Sec., Pr.G.Sc.E.; John Llewellyn Griffiths, of Jamalpur, India. 3810, 229; Richard Hanson Griffiths, of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire. P.Pr.A.G.Sec., P.Pr.G.So.; Arthur Edward Gurney, F.R.I.B.A., of London, N. 4450; Caleb George Gurr, of Adelaide. P.M. 99; P.Z. 363 (I.C.); Selby Osgood Hanbury, of Ulapane, Ceylon. 3429; Martin James Hardiman, of Sydney, N.S.W. P.M. 22, P.Z. 19; Montague Matthew Harris, of London, E. W.M. 4297, Sc.N. 4297; Herbert George Hardcastle, of Ripon. S.D. 837, Sc.E. 837; William Thomas Featherstone Hardesty, of Cambridge. S.W. 4334, 441; James Otto Hassig, of Singapore. P.M. 3946, 508; James Arthur Hawke, of Claremont, S. Africa. 2577, 2577; Owen Hearn, of Calcutta. J.W. 3130, 229; Ernest C. R. Holloway, of Cambridge. 3575, 3575; George Albert Hoskins, of London, S.E., P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Essex, Sc.N. 3790; Rev. Cecil Kendrick Hughes, M.A., of Toungoo, Burma. Ch. 1095; Joseph Percy Hunter, of Sheffield. P.M. 4092; William John Hyner, of Downham Market, Norfolk. P.Pr.G.R., P.Pr.G.H.; Capt. Charles Herbert Inwood, O.B.E., M.C., of Meerut, India. W.M. 413, P.Z. 2307; Richard Owen Jenkins, of Bidor, F.M.S. W.M. 3418, H. 3212; Frank Knight Jewson, of London, E. 3736, 3301; Harold Nicols Johnson, of Stirling, Ill., U.S.A. 144, 52; Rev. Edward Salisbury Jose, M.A., of Lamberhurst, Kent. P.Pr.A.G.Ch., Past Grand Lecturer (S. Australia); George Bennett Joyner, of London, S.E. 2500, 3350; Alfred Kelly, of Norwich. P.Pr.G.R.; David Kennedy, of Denny, Scotland. P.M. 176, J. 518; Cecil Henry King, A.C.A., of London, S.W. 4165; Stephen King, of Oxford. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.D.C. (R.A.); Edward Ingram Kitchen, of Kinlochleven. 592, 477; Hugh Frederick Parker Knight, of London, Ontario. 209, 5; Charles Kristal, of Senekal, S. Africa. W.M. 1237 (S.C.); Frederick Lace, F.R.C.S., of Bath. Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.); Robert John Lawrence, of Swaffham, Norfolk. 1808; Harold George Alfred Leech, of London, N. 3881; George Brown Leith, of Melbourne, Victoria. Past Grand Inspector of Works; Walter Linley, of Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa. Dis.G.Ins, 1665; Peter MacAuslan, of Lanark. P.G.M.D., P.G.S. (R.A.); Alexander Craig MacCormack, of Aberdare. J.W. 679; Leslie Daniel Mackintosh, of Forres, Scotland. W.M. 37, 382; Clifton Granbery McMeen, of Spring Hill, Tenn., U.S.A. P.M. 124; John McMillan, of Southport. 4389; James McMullan, of Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. P.M. 51; Arthur John Mander, of Luton. 475; Charles Thomas Martin, of South Yarra, Victoria. P.G.W., P.Z. 2; Fred. J. Michell, of Stony Beach, Sask., Canada. P.M. 17; Reuben Robert Moor, of London, N. P.M. 2353; William Morland, of Scarborough. P.M. 1248, H. 1248; Thomas Morrison, of Sheffield. P.M. 3278; John Hall Morton, of London, N. J.D. 2895; Joseph Moses, of London, N.W. 4305, 1328; Robert Bradley Mummery, of Stafford. W.M. 4281, P.So. 726; Engr.-Lt. Alexander Richard Newman, R.N., A.M.I.Mech.E., of Gorleston-on-Sea. 2466, 100; Samuel James Nock, of Barrow-in-Furness, 3928; Clarence Arthur Oertel, of Senekal, S. Africa. S.W. 110 (D.C.); Thomas James Oldland, of London, N. P.M. 3175, P.Z. 3175; Hyam Maurice Owen, M.B., of Sydney. 42; William Leonard Parker, of Senekal, S. Africa. W.M. 110 (D.C.); Richard Edward Parkinson, of Rathfriland, Ireland. 367, 367; Thomas George Farquhar Paterson, of Armagh. 39, 623; H.H. The Maharaja of Patiala. Past Grand Warden; Peter Edward Phillips, of Norwich. 679; William Frank Phillips, of Shenfield. 2860; Hilton Philipson, of Esher, Surrey. 1616, 1167; Jack F. R. Pratti, of London, W.C. W.M. 3013, J. 3013; Thomas John Price, of Shirley, Surrey. 3411, 3411; David Lees Provan, of Inverness. W.M. 6, 115; Robert Raffle, M.B., of South Shields. I.G. 3390; Allan Ramsay, of London, E.C. 4406; George Rewald, of Senekal, S. Africa. 110 (D.C.); Siegfried Rewald, of Senekal, S. Africa. 110 (D.C.); William H. Rickards, of Mersine, Turkey. 2277; George Robson, of Ashton-under-Lyne. 300; Rev. Sabeti Benjamin Rohold, F.R.G.S., of Haifa, Palestine. 27 (S.C.), 50 (S.C.); Geoffrey Russell, of London, S.E. W.M. 2228; Hartley Gladstone Moffat Ryan, of Melbourne. 269; Christopher Saintsbury, of Edinburgh. 48,

417; Harold Flood Sample, of Brighton. W.M. 4307; Rev. Henry Guy Sclater, of Argyll. Pr.G.Ch., Pr.G.Chancellor (R.A.); His Honour Judge Townsend Scudder, of New York. Past Grand Master; George Shepherd Shepherd-Jones, of Surbiton, Surrey. P.M. 2182, P.Z. 2182; Bertram Silverston, of Birmingham. P.Pr.G.W.; George Palgrave Simpson, of London, N.W. P.Pr.G.D., Middlesex, H. 3736; David Wesley Smith, of Binghamton, N.Y. 80, 12; Ernest A. Smith, of Birmingham. Past Grand Standard Bearer (Craft & R.A.); Gerard Hamilton Smith, of Derby. P.M. 253, Sc.E. 253; John Edgler Southern, of Manchester. Past Grand Deacon; Evan Richard Stanley, of Papua, British New Guinea. 9 (S.Aust.C.), 1 (S.Aust.C.); Eldred Penrose Stevens, of Harrow, Middlesex. P.M. 2742, P.Z. 2742; Hendrick Anne Sthuman, of Meppel, Holland. W.M. Humaniteit; William McCall Taylor, of Kinlochleven. 4, 477; Alfred Warren Thompson, of Scarborough. P.M. 2586, 1248; Henry Matcham Thornton, of Cairo. P.Dis.G.D. Gibraltar, P.Dis.G.So., Gibraltar; William Lacon Threlford, F.C.A., of London, S.W. P.M. 3096, 3750; Thomas Tose, of Whitby, Yorks. 312, 312; John Robert Townend, of Sheffield. 2268; Raphael Eugène Troemé, of Sheffield. 3849; George Tuck, of Wolverhampton. P.M. 4027, 509; Frederick John Underwood, of Worcester. J.W. 280, P.So. 280; William Dunscomb Vallance, of Marandellas, S. Rhodesia. P.M. 1321, 1321; Pieter Daniel Van der Merwe, of Standerton, S. Africa. 110 (D.C.); Christoffel Johannes van Niekerk, of Senekal, S. Africa. 110 (D.C.); Willoughby James Midford Visser, of Senekal, S. Africa. Pr.G.S.B.; Henry Walkley, of Levin, N. Zealand. J.W. 135; Jefferson Wallace, of Richmond, Virginia. W.M. 51, P.H.P., 32; Arthur Thomas Ward, of Pretoria, S. Africa. 12 (D.C.); Rev. Francis Leigh Ward, of Hartlepool. P.Pr.G.Ch., Durham; Alfred Robert Montague Watmore, of Yenangyaung, Burma. W.M. 4374; Henry Ard Watson, J.P., of Leeds. P.Pr.G.Treas.; Samuel Weinberg, of Senekal, S. Africa. J.W. 110 (D.C.); William Welsh, of Glasgow. P.M. 1018, P.Z. 524; Frederick Whinfield, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. P.Pr.Dep.G.D.C., Z. 3619; Ernest John White, of Bath. W.M. 2227; Ernest Alfred Whiting, of Brighton. W.M. 3951; Rev. William E. Wibby, B.D., of Walsall. Pr.G.Ch., P.So. 539; Rev. George Howard Williams, of Cobden, Ill. Ch. 466, K. 151; William George Wright, of Roseville, N.S.W. W.M. 50; Thomas Henry Young, of Enniskillen, Ireland. P.M. 205, 205.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

